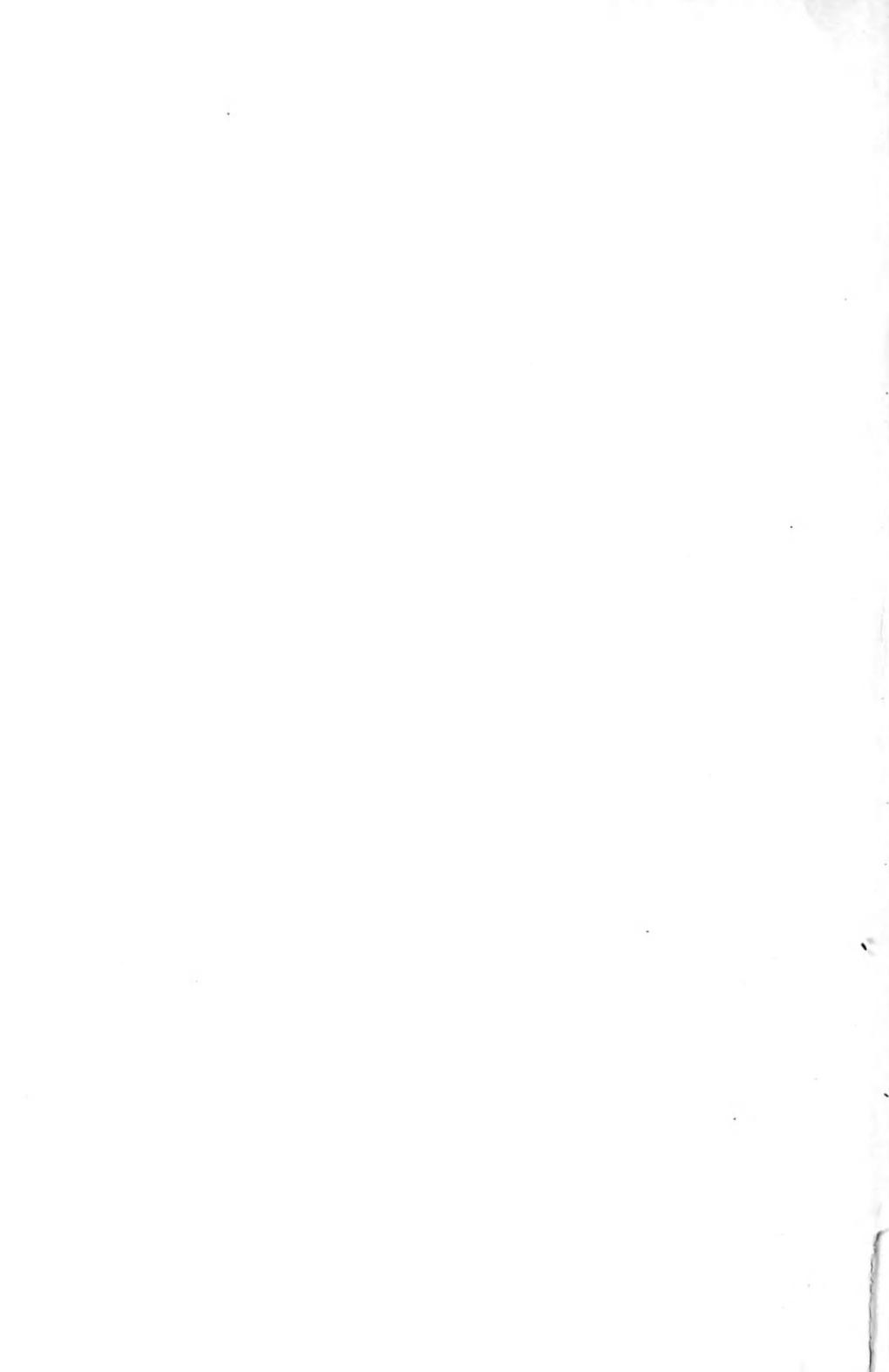# AN INTRODUCTION

TO

OLD FRENCH
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

BY

FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF SPANISH IN THE SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL
OF YALE UNIVERSITY

To

EUGENE   F.   BLISS

PREFACE

This grammar is intended not only to introduce beginners to the study of Old French phonology and morphology from the historical point of view, but also to facilitate their progress to an advanced grammar.

The latter aim has governed the arrangement of the book, inasmuch as the author has endeavored to reproduce, even to the paragraph-notation, the arrangement of that advanced grammar which is by most teachers considered the best—the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* of Eduard Schwan and Dietrich Behrens.* He trusts that he has thus made it possible for students to acquire, before beginning to use the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, a lasting appreciation of its logical-ness of structure, a quality which, in the *Grammatik* itself, is all but obscured by the complexities of detail unavoidable in an advanced grammar. Even after the step from the elementary to the advanced grammar, the former will perhaps be useful for a time, not only by its elucidations of difficult points, but also by its renderings into English of important technical terms. Thus students may be able to gain gradually, almost unconsciously, the ability to use a tool by means of which practically all the problems of Old French phonology and morphology can be solved.

The omission of an alphabetical index is intentional. It is essential that students shall thoroughly understand the structure of the elementary grammar, in order to understand, later, that of the *Grammatik.* An alphabetical index, therefore, might prove detrimental, inasmuch as it would allow them to overlook the table

* *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* von Dr. Eduard Schwan, neu bearbeitet von Dr. Dietrich Behrens ; siebente Auflage ; Leipzig, 1907. There is a French translation : *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, traduction française d'après la 4me édition allemande, par Oscar Bloch, avec une préface de F. Brunot ; Leipzig, 1900.

1   5

of contents, or to shirk the use of cross-references, thus hindering them from realizing how logical that structure is.

The book contains several pedagogical devices unusual in Old French grammars. For instance, the irregular verbs are presented after the manner of most grammars of modern French, with the methods of which students of Old French are presumably acquainted. Again, in most of the paradigms Old French forms and related Latin forms are so presented that even a slight knowledge of Latin may help the memory. A glossary of technical terms has been provided for those who are not used to the historical study of language.

Much in the book may impress adepts in Old French as too categorical. To the author, however, it often seemed expedient, for pedagogical reasons, to leave the beginner in ignorance of confusing difficulties. No harm will result, for the student will find those difficulties presented and discussed in the *Grammatik*. Nor should the occasional occurrence of absolute differences between the two grammars lead to confusion, for the excellent bibliography of the *Grammatik* will always supply a means of independent decision. And in the investigation of all such difficulties and differences, if we may press once more the point already emphasized, the student will be greatly aided by the fact that his three tools—the elementary grammar, the *Grammatik*, and the latter's bibliography—correspond in paragraph-notation.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that the author is immeasurably indebted to the scholarship, as well as to the practical skill, of the writers of the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*. Moreover, since in an elementary grammar it is hardly feasible to acknowledge indebtedness in detail, he acknowledges a general indebtedness to investigators in the field of Romance philology, especially, of course, to those two masters, Professor Kr. Nyrop, and Professor W. Meyer-Lübke.

For personal assistance throughout his work he is inexpressibly grateful to Professor H. R. Lang and to Professor A. S. Cook. To

Professor Hanns Oertel, to Professor C. U. Clark, and to Professor C. C. Clarke, Jr., he owes several important suggestions.

Those who use this book, either as teachers or as students, will find errors—not too many, let us hope. Doubtless they will also desire, on pedagogical grounds, various additions and subtractions. For all criticisms the author will be extremely thankful. Such help will be invaluable in the event of a second edition.

<div align="right">FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS.</div>

Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, June, 1909.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PART I — PHONOLOGY

8

PART II — MORPHOLOGY

I. Declension

II. Conjugation

APPENDIX

Connected Passages with Phonetic Transcription.

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

1-4. Old French was the transitional stage between Latin and modern French. By 'Latin,' however, we do not mean the standard Latin of grammars and dictionaries, the so-called Classical Latin, written by authors and declaimed by orators just before and just after the beginning of our era. We mean what scholars term Vulgar Latin, that language which was Rome's medium of informal intercourse from the earliest days to the fall of the Western Roman Empire, a constantly developing language, Classical Latin being the artificial perfection and crystallization of one of its stages. This Vulgar Latin, carried abroad by Roman soldiers and colonists, was forthwith adopted by the nations which had been conquered and Romanized. But it developed differently in the various provinces, partly because of differences in the date of Romanization, partly because of differences in the nations Romanized, thus resulting in the various Romance languages. The Vulgar Latin carried into northern Gaul developed into Old French. So gradual was the change that it is impossible to say when Vulgar Latin ceased and Old French began ; for reasons of convenience, however, the year 600 of our era is often adopted as the point of demarcation.

We have several times spoken of the 'development' of that language which is called, in its successive stages, Vulgar Latin, Old French, and modern French. We mean that this language, from its beginnings until now, has ever been changing in accordance with unchanging tendencies. For the genius of a language consists of tendencies just as marked, and just as inexplicable, as those which constitute the genius of a nation. In the case of the language in question two such tendencies are dominant: the one governing the

development of its pronunciation ; the other, that of its grammatical
forms.   Its pronunciation has constantly shown an extreme tendency
toward contraction.   This becomes very clear on comparing different
stages, so to speak, of one and the same sentence.   Let us take the
modern French sentence *Voici le soleil qui disparaît derrière ces nuages,*
and present it successively at its Vulgar Latin, Old French, and
modern French stage (Vulgar Latin and Old French were pronounced
practically as they look ; for the modern French we use the phonetic
signs explained in 13–14):

Vide ecce-hic illum soliculum qui disparescit de-retro ecce-istos nubaticos.
Veit ci le soleil qui dispareist deriedre ces nuages.
Vwasil soley ki dispare deryer se nüaž.†

So much for the pronunciation.   As to the grammatical forms, they
have constantly tended toward a more analytic condition.   For
example, whereas early Vulgar Latin possessed six cases in noun-
declension, Old French possessed only two, and modern French
possesses only one ; this decrease in inflected forms necessitating,
naturally, a corresponding increase of prepositional constructions.

This grammar, then, is a history of how Old French developed, in
accordance with these two innate tendencies, out of Vulgar Latin and
into modern French.

Note. Our knowledge of Vulgar Latin is based mainly on (1) remarks of
ancient and mediæval grammarians, who often mention words and expressions as
contrary to the best usage ; (2) certain linguistic remains, such as inscriptions
and private documents, which contain informal Latin ; (3) inferences from the
comparative study of the Romance languages. Our knowledge of Old French is
based mainly on documents of the times. But since the oldest document is of the
ninth century, the beginnings of Old French must be inferred from later Old
French and from Vulgar Latin.

5. Old French contained, in addition to the Vulgar Latin words
which formed the greater part of its vocabulary, a very few Celtic

† These examples are taken, with several modifications, from Arsène Darme-
steter's *Cours de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française,* § 122.

words, the scanty linguistic legacy of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Gaul ; and some hundreds of Germanic words, contributed by the Germanic invaders of the fifth and sixth centuries.

6. Old French was spoken in almost all of the northern half of France. The peninsula of Brittany, though Romanized during the first centuries of our era, had been re-Celtized, during the fifth and sixth centuries, by Celts from England. In the southern half of France another of the Romance languages, Provençal, was spoken.

7. Old French was divided into dialects. We are accustomed to call these dialects by the names of the mediaeval provinces of France. Of these dialects the most important was the Ile de France dialect.

8. Ile de France was that province of which Paris was the capital. As Paris became politically more and more important, the Ile de France dialect was more and more widely accepted as the best French. After the middle of the twelfth century practically all the authors of northern France used it, and to this day the Ile de France dialect is the standard French. This grammar is a grammar of the mediaeval Ile de France dialect only, but we use the term Old French for various reasons of convenience.

9. It is of course impossible to say just when Old French became modern French. We may arbitrarily choose 1515, the year in which Francis I ascended the throne, to mark the end of Old French. For convenience of treatment, we shall cut the whole Old French period in two at about the year 1100. From ca. 600 to ca. 1100 we shall call the 'first Old French period'; from ca. 1100 to ca. 1515 the 'second Old French period.'

PART I
PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I
GENERAL REMARKS ON PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

10-11. As a language passes from one period of its existence into another, its sounds undergo a great number of changes, called 'phonological changes.' These changes are not capricious ; on the contrary, they show great regularity. For example, the *c* of very many Vulgar Latin words changed to Old French *ch*. When this change is more closely examined, however, it appears : (1) that it took place throughout the province of Ile de France, but that it did not take place in certain other provinces ; (2) that it took place only during the first Old French period ; i. e., that any *c* which had not changed to *ch* by ca. 1100, did not do so after that date ; (3) that in the Ile de France dialect of the first period, it practically never took place unless *c* was followed by *a* ; and, furthermore, unless such a *c* was either initial in a word, or initial in a syllable preceded by a syllable ending in a consonant. In other terms, the change was limited (1) in space, (2) in time, and (3) by the relation of the sound in question to adjacent sounds. As we find that all phonological changes which we are able to investigate are subject to these three restrictions, we are led to the following general assumption : like sounds, within like limits of space and time, and standing in like relations to adjacent sounds, develop in like manner. It is because of their belief in this general assumption that grammarians present phonological changes in the form of rules or 'laws.' **Part I of this book is a systematic presentation of the 'phonological laws' of Old French.**

14

The influence of **analogy** often causes like sounds within like limits of space and time to develop in different ways. For example, the early Vulgar Latin word *gravem* became in later Vulgar Latin *grevem* (although regularly *a* remained unchanged throughout the Vulgar Latin period) from analogy with *levem*, with which it had in common the idea of weight.

Syntactic conditions sometimes cause like sounds within like limits of space and time to develop in different ways. For example, the Vulgar Latin personal pronoun *me* resulted, when stressed, in Old French *mei* ; when unstressed, in Old French *me*. Phenomena of this kind are called phenomena of ' syntactic phonology.'

Note. Every phonological change has a cause and a manner. In this grammar, however, we shall deal with neither, except in very rare cases : to state the cause of a phonological change is seldom possible (cf. page 11, line 25) ; to describe the manner would require too much space. We may illustrate by a discussion of the change, during the Vulgar Latin period, of *ĭ* to *ẹ* (this is the change mentioned in 16–20). It is impossible to state the cause of this change. But its manner may be described. First, as to the change of *i* to *e*, without considering the change in quantity : to pronounce the Vulgar Latin sound *ĭ* (approximately the sound of *i* in English *pin*) the tongue had to be raised quite high ; the people of early France, however, contracted the habit of not raising the tongue so high when they attempted that sound ; but, if the tongue is raised not quite high enough for *ĭ*, the result is *e* (approximately the sound of *e* in English *they*), as self-experiment will easily prove. Secondly, as to the fact that *ĭ* became *ẹ* rather than *ĕ* : *e* may be pronounced either ' close ' or ' open ' (compare English *they* and *there*), the tongue being raised higher for close *e* ; when *ĭ* was slurred, the tongue at least attained to the next highest elevation, that of close *e* ; but in Vulgar Latin close vowels were usually long, and the close *e* which resulted from *ĭ* was no exception. Thus we have fully described the manner of the change *ĭ* to *ẹ* : it is evident that a brief grammar cannot, except in rare cases, afford space for such description.

12. Words may be either inherited or borrowed. An inherited word is one which has been present in a language from the beginning of that language ; in the case of Old French, from ca. 600. A borrowed word is one taken into a language after the beginning. A borrowed word is seldom affected by a phonological change which has run its

course previous to the date of borrowing : *imperator*, for instance, which Old French borrowed ca. 800 from the degenerate Classical Latin (called by some scholars of to-day ' Late Latin,' by others ' Low Latin ') which writers were then using, never dropped the post-secondary-stress *e* (compare modern French *empereur*), as all inherited words had done before ca. 800 (compare Old French *temprer*, from Vulgar Latin *temperare*). **This grammar leaves borrowed words out of consideration, except in a few especial instances.**

Note. Many Old French words were neither inherited nor borrowed, but came into existence by the process called word-formation. For example, Old French *partage* was not the direct descendant of any Vulgar Latin word, but was the Old French stem *part-* (compare Old French *partir*, from Vulgar Latin *partire*) plus the Old French suffix *-age* (from Vulgar Latin *-aticum*).

13-14. The student should constantly refer to this section. The orthography of mediæval manuscripts hinders, rather than helps, our understanding of mediæval pronunciation (compare modern orthography, which presents many incongruities with modern pronunciation). Writers sometimes used traditional orthography for a sound long after that sound had completely changed ; sometimes, on the other hand, invented misleading methods of expressing new sounds. Therefore we shall often have to resort to phonetic transcription of our examples. But invariable use of phonetic symbols might prevent the student from gaining any definite idea of mediæval orthography. Therefore we shall use them, as a rule, for only that sound (of our illustrative words) which is under discussion.† Let caution be used in regard to the other sounds of an example. For instance, in the Old French word *vertut*, given as an example in 84, we phonetically transcribe only the *e* ; the *u*, however, is not pronounced like *ou* in modern French *tour* (as is the phonetic symbol *u*), nor like *oo* in English *book* (as is the phonetic symbol *u*), nor is the final *t* pronounced like English *t* ; the pronunciation of these

† In the Appendix will be found several passages of Old French with complete phonetic transcription.

sounds is explained, and phonetically transcribed, in the sections dealing with the development of Vulgar Latin stressed *ǫ* and Vulgar Latin *ĭ*. But sounds other than the one under discussion at the moment will be represented phonetically whenever their pronunciation presents difficulties not easily solvable. **When the phonetic transcription of a word or sound is so peculiar as to make identification difficult, the mediaeval orthography will be added in brackets [ ].**

The student should understand the following general principles of phonetic transcription. A dot under a vowel signifies that the vowel is 'close'; that is, uttered with the mouth comparatively closed (for instance, the *i* of modern French *si* is close, that of English *sit* is open). A hook toward the right ( ) signifies that the vowel is open ; a hook toward the left ( ) that it has an indefinite, smothered pronunciation, approximate to the *u* in English *but*. In this grammar we seldom mark the 'quality,' as the comparative closeness or openness of a vowel is called, of unstressed vowels, inasmuch as unstressed vowels, including the weaker vowels of diphthongs and triphthongs, are practically always of an intermediate quality. We do not mark the quality of *a*, *ö*, or *ü*, inasmuch as there is great uncertainty as to their quality in Old French (their approximate values are given in our alphabetical list of phonetic symbols).

Alphabetical List of Phonetic Symbols †

    a = *a* in English *eat*.
    ã = *a* in modern French *an* (35. Note 3 ; 178. Note).
    b = English *b*.
    d = English *d*.
    d̦ = a sound resembling *th* in English *brother*, but less audible.
    dž = English *j*.
    ẹ = modern French *é*.

---

† The values given are of course only approximate.

$\tilde{e}$ = the sound e pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate ;
     that is, partly through the nose. Cf. 35. Note 3 ; 178. Note.

e = modern French $\grave{e}$.

$\tilde{\varepsilon}$ = ai in modern French *pain* (35. Note 3 ; 178. Note).

ε = u in English *but*.

f = English f.

g = g in English *go*.

g^1 : cf. 133.

g^2 : cf. 133.

h = English h.

i = i in modern French *si*.

$\tilde{i}$ = the sound i pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate
     (cf. $\tilde{e}$).

$i̯$ = y in English *you* (cf. the first paragraph of 103).

k = English k.

k^1 : cf. 133.

k^2 : cf. 133.

l = English l.

l' = ly in English *will you*.

m = English m.

n = English n.

$\acute{n}$ = ny in English *can you*.

η = ng in English *sing*.

o = modern French $\acute{o}$.

$\tilde{o}$ = the sound o pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate
     (cf. $\tilde{e}$).

ϱ = o in modern French *fol*.

$\tilde{\varrho}$ = o in modern French *bon* (35. Note 3 ; 178. Note).

$\ddot{o}$ = German $\ddot{o}$.

p = English p.

r = English r (cf. the remark immediately preceding 165).

s = English *ss*.

$\check{s}$ = English *sh*.

$\acute{s}$ = *ssy* in English *pass you*.

$t =$ English t.

$\underset{\cdot}{t} =$ a sound resembling th in English *thin* but less audible.

$t\check{s} =$ English ch.

$u =$ *ou* in modern French *tour*.

$\underset{\cdot}{u} =$ *oo* in English *book*.

$\underset{\cdot}{u} =$ *w* in English *we* (cf. the first paragraph of 103).

$\ddot{u} =$ modern French u.

$\tilde{\ddot{u}} =$ the sound $\ddot{u}$ pronounced with a lowering of the soft palate (cf. $\tilde{\underset{\cdot}{e}}$).

$v =$ English v.

$w =$ *w* in English *we*.

$y = y$ in English *you*.

$z =$ English z.

$\check{z} =$ French j.

$\underset{\cdot}{z} =$ *sy* in English *as you*.

In pronouncing Old French **diphthongs and triphthongs** observe the following rules : (1) pronounce all the individual elements, but more rapidly than when they stand outside such a combination ; (2) pronounce with most force the vowel marked with an accent ; (3) give an intermediate quality to the other vowel or vowels of the combination (cf. page 17, line 18).

Written accents practically played no part in either Vulgar Latin or Old French. In this grammar they are used to mark stress. The stress of Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin words is marked whenever there is likelihood of its being misplaced by the student. Primary stress is denoted by an acute, secondary by a grave accent. It is not necessary to mark the stress of Old French words, for the primary stress may be placed by an inviolable rule—on the ultima unless the ultima vowel be $\underset{\cdot}{e}$, in that case on the penult—and the secondary stress (79. Note) is not of great importance. We therefore use acute accents over Old French words for a special purpose—to mark that one of the vowels of a diphthong or triphthong which has the greater force : for instance, Old French *véiture* is stressed on the penult, but

the ę of the diphthong of the antepenult is pronounced more forcibly than the *i*.

Glossary of Technical Terms

analogical : used of a linguistic development brought about by the influence of analogy (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11).

antepenult : the last syllable but two of a word.

aspirate : the sound represented by the letter *h* ; also, a sound in which an *h* sound is associated with a mute (q. v.).

assimilation : cf. the last part of 103. Note 1.

atonic : in this grammar used of syllables or vowels not possessing primary stress (q. v.).

checked : cf. 32–34.

close : cf. page 17, line 11.

dental : pronounced by placing the tip of the tongue against or near the front teeth (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

derivative vowel : cf. 348.2.

dissimilation : a phonological process consisting in the making of similar sounds dissimilar (for instance, cf. 81. Note).

epenthetic *i* : an *i* sound inserted in a syllable from without. The *i* sound is often generated, so to speak, by a palatal consonant—for instance, cf. 158.1.

free : cf. 32–34.

hiatus : the strained pronunciation which arises when one vowel immediately follows another without being combined with it in a diphthong or triphthong.

initial-syllable pretonic vowel : cf. 79.

interconsonantal : immediately preceded by and immediately followed by a consonant or consonants.

intervocal : immediately preceded by and immediately followed by a vowel or diphthong or triphthong.

labial : formed by various positions of the lips in contact with each other or with other parts of the mouth (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

labialized consonant : cf. 206.1.

liquids : the consonants *l* and *r*, so called from the ease with which they flow into or unite with other sounds (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

medial : used of sounds which are neither initial nor final in a word.

mediopalatal : cf. 133.

metathesis : the transposition of sounds for ease of pronunciation.

monophthong : a single simple vowel sound, in contradistinction to a diphthong.

morphology : the science of the forms of language, in contradistinction to 'phonology,' the science of the sounds of language.

mute : a consonant formed by the stopping of the oral passage ; opposed to 'spirant' (q. v.).

nasal consonant : a consonant uttered with a lowering of the soft palate : that is, partly through the nose. Cf. the tables in 103 and 272.

nasal vowel : a vowel uttered with a lowering of the soft palate : that is, partly through the nose. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

open : cf. page 17, line 13.

oral consonant : a consonant uttered entirely through the mouth : that is, without lowering of the soft palate, which would cause nasalization (cf. 'nasal consonant'). Cf. the tables in 103 and 272.

palatal : produced by, or with the help of, the palate (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

palatalization : the process referred to under 'palatalized consonant.'

palatalized consonant : a consonant which has developed an additional *y* sound : for instance, *l̦*, *ṅ*.

paroxytone : a word having the primary stress (q. v.) on the penult (q. v.).

penult : the syllable next to the last in a word.

phonology : cf. 'morphology.'

postconsonantal : immediately following a consonant.

2

postpalatal : cf. 133.

post-secondary-stress vowel : cf. 79.

preconsonantal : immediately preceding a consonant.

primary group : cf. 103. Note 1.

primary stress : when a word has two stressed syllables, the more forcible is called the 'primary stress,' the less forcible is called the 'secondary stress' (cf. 79, and 79. Note).

proparoxytone : a word having the primary stress (q. v.) on the antepenult (q. v.).

provenience : the source or origin of a linguistic phenomenon.

resonance chamber : a hollow space formed in the mouth in order to reinforce the sound of the vibrating vocal cords.

secondary group : cf. 103. Note 1.

secondary stress : cf. 'primary stress.'

semivowel : i and u are called semivowels because they have the character of both a vowel and a consonant (cf. 103 and 272).

sonant : accompanied by vocal vibration or tone (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

spirant : a consonant of incomplete closure; opposed to 'mute' (q. v.). Cf. the tables in 103 and 272.

stress : cf. 'primary stress,' and 'secondary stress.'

strong verb : cf. 338.

surd : unaccompanied by vocal vibration or tone (cf. the tables in 103 and 272).

syncope : the elision of a vowel or syllable from the midst of a word (for instance, cf. 76).

tonic : in this grammar used of vowels or syllables bearing primary stress (q. v.).

ultima : the last syllable of a word.

umlaut : the change of one vowel to another more like a following vowel (for instance, cf. 43).

velar palatal : cf. 133.

weak verb : cf. 338.

The following cross-section drawing of the organs of speech may be of value to students who have not studied phonetics :
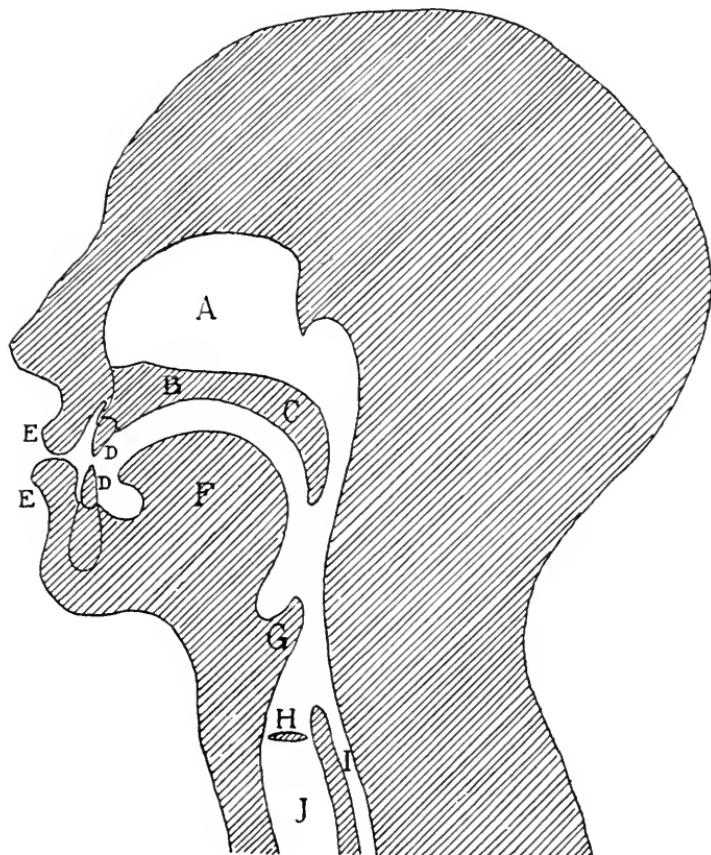
A = nasal cavity.   B = hard palate.   C = soft palate.   D = teeth.
E = lips.   F = tongue.   G = epiglottis.   H = vocal cords.
    I = esophagus.   J = trachea.

Abbreviations

CL. = Classical Latin.   VL. = Vulgar Latin.   OF. = Old French.
 > = ' becomes.'   < = ' is the result of.'

An asterisk (*) stands before Vulgar Latin words which are supposed to have existed, but have not been actually found in any Vulgar Latin document.

CHAPTER II

THE MOST IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN (GALLIC) VULGAR LATIN AND CLASS-ICAL LATIN

---

15. An historical presentation of Old French finds its natural point of departure in the description of Vulgar Latin—more specifically, in the description of the last stage of Gallic Vulgar Latin. Since students of Old French historical grammar must be conversant with Classical Latin (a **Classical Latin grammar and dictionary should be continually at hand**), we may conveniently describe this Vulgar Latin by enumerating the differences between it and Classical Latin. Although earlier Vulgar Latin, that which had been perfected and crystallized into Classical Latin (1–4), differed hardly at all from Classical Latin—no more than informal from formal modern English—later Vulgar Latin, developing rapidly away from its former self, became, *ipso facto*, quite unlike the crystallization of that former self. In the sixth century we find the following differences between Gallic Vulgar Latin and Classical Latin.

Stress

VL. words generally stress the same syllable as the corresponding words in CL., but :

Words with a short penult, and an ultima beginning with a mute plus *r*, which in CL. stress the antepenult, stress the penult in VL. (CL. *intĕgrum*—VL. *intégrum*).

Where in CL. a stressed *i* of the antepenult stands in hiatus with a following *e* or *o*, in VL. we find a diphthong, with the stress shifted to the *e* or *o* (CL. *pariĕtem*—VL. *pariĕtem*).

Certain differences are due to the fact that analogy (10–11) has been at work in VL. For example, the CL. 1st plural present indica-

tive of the 3d conjugation stresses the antepenult ; but in VL., because of the analogy of the three other conjugations, this form has come to stress the penult (CL. *pérdĭmus*—VL. *perdímus*, by analogy to such VL. forms as *amámus, monémus, audímus*, which correspond to CL. *amāmus, monēmus, audīmus*).

Note. Such VL. forms as *convénit* (instead of CL. *cónvĕnit*), are the result of a process called recomposition. Whereas CL., and the pre-Christian VL. of which it was the crystallization, had come to feel *convenit* as a simple word, VL. of our era regained the consciousness that it was compounded of *con* and *venit*, and therefore stressed the stem of the verb.

Vowels

16-20. Pre-Christian VL., like CL., possessed *ĭ* and *ŭ*, but by the sixth century *ĭ* had changed to *ẽ* and *ŭ* to *õ* (CL. *bĭbere* and *sŭpra*—VL. *bẽbere* and *sõpra*). Moreover, whereas in pre-Christian VL., as in CL., each vowel possessed two quantities, being either of short or long duration, by the sixth century each vowel (except *a*) had developed in addition two qualities, all long vowels having become also close, and all short vowels having become also open. As a result of these changes, we find the following vowel-correspondences between CL. and the VL. of sixth century Gaul:

CL.	*ī* — VL.	long	*i*
	ĭ —	long	*ẹ*
	ē —	long	*ẹ*
	ĕ —	short	*ę*
	ā —	long	*a*
	ă —	short	*a*
	ŏ —	short	*ǫ*
	ō —	long	*ọ*
	ŭ —	long	*ọ*
	ū —	long	*u*

Pre-Christian VL. had only three diphthongs : *ae, oe,* and *au*. By the sixth century *ae* has become short *ę*, and *oe* has become long *ẹ* (CL. *poena*—VL. *pẹna*), *au* alone remaining intact.   Meanwhile,

however, a few new diphthongs have developed, as, for example, in
VL. *pariétem* (15).

To CL. proparoxytones with penult vowel between *l — p*, *l — d*,
l — t, *l — m*, *r — d*, *r — m*, *s — t*, correspond VL. paroxytones, the
vowel having been syncopated (CL. *cálĭdŭs*—VL. *caldŭs*).

To CL. words with unstressed *u* following a consonant group cor-
respond VL. words without the *u* (CL. *mórtŭŭm*—VL. *mortŭm*).

CL. allows hiatus ; VL. avoids it in various ways. For example,
an unstressed *i* or *e* standing immediately before another vowel
becomes the semivowel *i̯* (CL. *fĭlĭŭs*—VL. *fili̯ŭs*); an unstressed *u* in
like position becomes *u̯* (CL. *annŭŭālem*—VL. *annu̯alem*).

Consonants

21-28. The *h* of earlier VL. has become silent (CL. *homo*—VL.
omo). But a new *h* has come in with words borrowed from the Ger-
manic tongues (Germanic *haga* > VL. *haga*).

VL. final *m* after an unstressed vowel has become silent (CL.
animam—VL. *anima*).

VL. *n* has become silent before *s* (CL. *trans*—VL. *tras*).

VL. intervocal *b* has become *v* (CL. *faba*—VL. *fava*).

VL. *g* before *e* or *i* has changed into the sound of *y* in English *ye*
(CL. *gentem*—VL. *yente*). The VL. combinations *ge*, *gi*, *de*, *di*,
when standing before vowels, have also become *y* (CL. *diurnum*—
VL. *yornu*).

Words beginning with an *s* plus a consonant prefix an *e* when
the foregoing word ends in a consonant (CL. *spina*—VL. *espina*).

Borrowed Words

29-30. The Vulgar Latin of Gaul borrowed many words from
Greek and from the Germanic tongues. Most of the Greek and
Germanic sounds existed likewise in Vulgar Latin ; the rest were
replaced by more or less closely related sounds. For example, the
Germanic bilabial *w*, which had no equivalent in Vulgar Latin, was
replaced by the combination *gw* (Germanic *wardon* > VL. *gwarder*).

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST OLD FRENCH PERIOD

31. Those sounds which—as we have shown in Chapter II—apper-
tained to the sixth century Vulgar Latin of Gaul, continued steadily
in their phonological development, and during the succeeding centu-
ries became Old French sounds. This chapter will explain their
development down to about 1100.

Note. To attempt to date, even approximately, the changes which took place
between 600 and 1100 would lead too far afield. The student should try, how-
ever, to make some inferences. For example, comparison of 35 with 108, 117.1,
127, etc., will show that the diphthongization of tonic free vowels had run its
course before double consonants became single: for, if VL. *ceppu* (108) had
become OF. *cepu* before free tonic *ę* diphthongized, the form of ca. 1100 would
have been *ciƒ* (39.1), not *cẽp* (41).

VOWELS

32-34. For the following discussion of the vowels it is necessary
to understand the terms 'free' and 'checked.' A vowel is said
to be free when it ends a syllable, checked when it does not. More
definitely—a vowel is free when it ends a word (*me*); when it stands
before another vowel (*me-a*); when it stands before a single consonant
(*ma-nu*); when it stands before a mute + liquid (*ca-pra, do-plu*): a
vowel is checked when it stands before any consonant group other than
a mute + liquid (*por-ta*); when it stands before a consonant + *i̯* or *u̯*
(*sap-i̯at*). A vowel which stands before a single final consonant (*cor*)
is free when followed by a word beginning with a vowel, checked when
followed by a word beginning with a consonant or by a pause (cf. the
third paragraph of 10–11.)

28

Note. At the beginning of the first OF. period, then, all words ending in a single final consonant were developing in two ways. But the developments before a following word beginning with a consonant, or before a pause, soon gave way (from analogy—cf. the second paragraph of 10–11) to the developments before a following word beginning with a vowel. **In the following sections, therefore, we consider the ultima vowels of such words as free.**

Tonic Vowels

35. As we have seen in 16–20, the last stage of Gallic Vulgar Latin possessed the vowels *i̧, ę, ẹ, a, ǫ, ọ, u̧*, and the diphthong *au* (other diphthongs occurring only rarely). During the first period tonic vowels tended to diphthongize. This diphthongization seems contrary to the tendency of the language toward contraction (1–4), but was in reality a result of that tendency, inasmuch as it was the last step of a compensatory process caused by the syncopation, during the first centuries of Old French, of almost all atonic vowels (76, and 80.2). The first step of this compensatory process was the lengthening of free tonic vowels. Moreover, those free vowels which were short in Vulgar Latin lengthened to the same degree as those which were long, so that the only short vowels remaining were those which were checked. When all these free vowels had lengthened, they then broke, as it were, into diphthongs : VL. *fĕru* > very early OF. *fēru* > later OF. *fiér*. The checked vowels, on the contrary (all of which, even those originally long, were now short as compared with the free vowels), did not diphthongize : VL. *fǒrma* > very early OF. *forma* (with short *ǫ*) > later OF. *furme*. Sections 36–75 are a detailed enumeration of the results of, and divergences from, the process which we have just described in general terms. **In our discussion of the tonic vowels we shall adopt the following order (corresponding to the situation, proceeding from front to back, of their resonance chambers): *i̧, ę, ẹ, a, ǫ, ọ, u̧*. We shall conclude with the discussion of the tonic diphthong** *au*.

Note 1. The development of a vowel was often complicated by the incorporation into a syllable of some new element. Especially common were the

incorporation of so-called 'epenthetic i,' and that of u. Separate paragraphs (38, 44, 45, etc.) will deal with these two phenomena.

Note 2. It is evident from the above section that very many vowels of Vulgar Latin changed in quantity upon becoming Old French vowels, all free short vowels becoming long, all checked long vowels becoming short, at least in comparison with the new long vowels. This requantification reached completion soon after the beginning of the first Old French period. Thenceforth through most of the first period, vowels seldom changed as to quantity, whether or no they changed from free to checked, or vice versa. Toward the end of the period, however, the difference between long and short vowels became inappreciable (they were all rather short than long), except in the case of tonic e. Most scholars are of the opinion that the e which came from VL. tonic free a (52. 1) remained $\bar{e}$ until after the end of the first period, and that meanwhile the e which came from VL. tonic checked e (39. 2, and 41) remained $\breve{e}$ (cf. 210 and 211); in the following sections we shall differentiate $\bar{e}$ from $\breve{e}$.

Note 3. All tonic vowels and diphthongs, and most initial-syllable pretonic vowels and diphthongs, followed by n or m, take on a nasal sound (178. Note) during Old French. It is certain that OF. tonic a, e, and ϱ were thus nasalized during the first period ; there is great uncertainty as to the date of nasalization of the other vowels and diphthongs. In the following sections, however, we shall consider all vowels and diphthongs which were nasalized at all, to have been nasalized before ca. 1100.

Note 4. In general, Vulgar Latin tonic syllables not only remained tonic throughout the first and second Old French periods, but are still so at the present day.

i

VL. i corresponds to CL. $\bar{i}$.

36. Free and checked i before oral consonants remain i : $ripa > rive$.

37. Free and checked i before nasal consonants become $\bar{i}$: $espina$ (CL. $spīnā$) $> espine$. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

38. i before an epenthetic i (35. Note 1) blends with the latter into a single i : $miea > mie$ (140.1). Before a nasal consonant $i +$ epenthetic i gives $\bar{i}$: $escriniu$ (CL. $scrīniūm$) $> escrīng$ (203).

e

VL. e corresponds to CL. $\bar{e}$, i, oe.

39. 1) Free e before oral consonants becomes $\acute{e}i$: $veru > v\acute{e}ir$.

After palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13–14) the result is *iéi* and then *i* (133. Note 2) : *cęra* > *eiéire* > *cire*.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult (during the Old French period all proparoxytones lose the vowel of the penult—cf. 76) *ę* before oral consonants becomes *ę̆* (35. Note 2): *dębita* > *debta* > *dęte*.

40. 1) Free *ę* before nasal consonants becomes *ę̃i* : *plęnu* > *plę̃in*. But after palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13–14) the result is *ĩ* : *racęmu* > *raisĩn*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, *ę* before nasal consonants becomes *ę̃*, and then *ã* : *sęmita* > *sę̃nte* > *sãnte* (the orthography, however, continues *sente*). Cf. 76.

41. Checked *ę* before oral consonants becomes *ę̆* (35. Note 2) : **męttere* (CL. *mĭttěrĕ*) > *mę̆tre*.

42. Checked *ę* before nasal consonants becomes *ę̃*, and then, except before *ń*, develops further into *ã*, though the orthography remains *en* : *fęndere* (CL. *fĭndĕrĕ*) > *fendre* (at first pronounced *fę̃ndre*, then *fãndre*). But *dęgnat* (CL. *dĭgnăt*) > *deignet* (pronounced *dę̆ńet*). Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

43. *ę* before oral or nasal consonants is changed to *i* or *ĩ* by the influence of an *i* in the following syllable (this is an example of the process called 'umlaut') : **pręsi* (CL. *prěhěndī*) > *pris*.

44. *ę* combined with an epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in the diphthong *ę̆i* : *fęria* > *féire* (201). Before nasal consonants the result is *ę̃i* : *fęnctu* (CL. *fĭctŭm*) > *fę́int* (163).

45. *ę* + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *ü* : *dębuit* > *düt* (206. Note).

<div align="center">

ę

VL. *ę* corresponds to CL. *ĕ* and *ae*.

</div>

46. 1) Free *ę* before oral consonants becomes *ię́* : *męl* > *miél*.

Note. *ęt* > *et*, probably because of the unstressed nature of the word (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11). The same explanation may be given for the alternative forms with *ę* of 417.

2) VL. free ę often came, through the syncope of an un-
stressed penult vowel (76), to be checked in OF. In some of these
cases it had had time, the syncope being late (76. Note 2), to diph-
thongize to *ię́* before becoming checked (*tépidu* > *tiępidu* > *tiępdu*
> *tiéde*); in others it had not had time, the syncope being early, to
diphthongize before becoming checked, and so, in accordance with
48, remained ę (*mérula* > *męrla* > *męrle*).

47. 1) Free ę before nasal consonants becomes *ię́* : *ręm* > *rię́n*.
Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel became checked
through the fall of the vowel of the penult, ę before nasal consonants
sometimes became *ę̃* and then *ã* (49), sometimes became *ię́* (cf. the
double development explained in 46. 2): *ténеru* > *tęnru* > *tę̃ndre*
> *tãndre* (the orthography, however, continuing *tendre*); *frémita* >
frię̃mita > *frię̃nte*.   Cf. 76.

48. Checked ę before oral consonants remains ę : ** tę̆sta* (CL. *tĕstă*)
> *tęste*.

Note 1. ę before *l'* becomes *ię́*.

Note 2. *ęst* > *est* (417), probably because of the unstressed nature of the
word (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11).

49. Checked ę before nasal consonants becomes *ę̃*, and then *ã* :
ręntu > *rę̃nt* > *rãnt* (the orthography continuing *rent*).   Cf. 35. Note
3, and 178. Note.

50. ę + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes *ię́i* and then *i* : *pręti̯u*
> *prię́is* > *pris* (193).   Before nasal consonants the result is *ĩ* : *ęnyęni̯u*
(CL. *ĭngĕnĭŭm*—cf. 21–28) > *enging* (pronounced *ãndžĩ́ń*—cf. 203).

51. ę + *n* (35. Note 1) becomes *ię́n* : *cęcu* (CL. *caecŭm*) > *cę̣-n*
(145 and 77) > *cię́n*.

<div align="center">

a

</div>

<div align="center">

VL. *a* corresponds to CL. *ā* and *ă*.

</div>

52. 1)   Free *a* before oral consonants becomes *ę̄* (35. Note 2) : *sal* >
sę̄l.   After palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13–14), how-
ever, the result is *ię́* : *caru* > *chię́r*.   But cf. 140.2.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, *a* before oral consonants remains *a* : *rápidu* > *rapdu* > *rade*. Cf. 76.

53. 1) Free *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ái* : *amas* > *áimes*. After palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13–14) it becomes *ię̃* : *cane* > *chię̃u*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ã* : *cámera* > *chãmbre*. Cf. 76.

54. Checked *a* before oral consonants remains *a* : *drappu* > *drap*.

55. Checked *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ã* : *tantu* > *tãnt*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

56. *a* and epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) combine in the diphthong *ái*, which then becomes the sound *éi*, though the orthography continues *ai* : *factu* > *fa-it* (158.1) > *fáit* > *féit* (generally written *fait*). Before nasal consonants the result is *ái* : *sancta* > *sáinte* (163). But free *a* after palatals (103) or palatalized consonants (13–14) combines with epenthetic *i* into *i* : *yaket* (CL. *jăcĕt*) > *gię̃-ist* (52.1, and 135.3) > *gist*.

57. *a* + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *ǫu* : *fagu* > *fa-u* (145 and 77) > *fǫ̃u*.

<div align="center">ǫ</div>

<div align="center">VI. ǫ corresponds to CL. ŏ.</div>

58. 1) Free ǫ before oral consonants becomes *ué* : *cǫr* > *cuér*.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel became checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free ǫ before oral consonants sometimes remained ǫ, sometimes became *ué* (cf. the double development explained in 46. 2) : **garǫfulu* (CL. *căryŏphȳllŭm*) > *gerǫfle* : **mǫrita* > *muérita* > *muérte* > *muéte*. Cf. 76.

59. 1) Free ǫ before nasal consonants becomes *ué* ; *bǫnu* > *bué̃n*. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free ǫ before nasal consonants becomes ǭ ; *cǫ́mite* > *cǫmte* > *cǭnte*. Cf. 76.

60. Checked ǫ before oral consonants remains ǫ : *fǫssa (CL. fōssă) > fǫsse.

Note. ǫ before *l'* becomes *u̯ę*.

61. Checked ǫ before nasal consonants becomes ǭ : pǫnte > pǭnt. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

62. ǫ + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes *úi* (*ṹi* before nasal consonants); cǫri̯u > cű́ir (201).

63. ǫ + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *ö́u* (usually written *eu*): fǫcu > jǫ-u (145 and 77) > jö́u [jeu].

ǫ

VI. ǫ corresponds to CL. ō and ŭ.

64. 1) Free ǫ before oral consonants becomes *óu* : colǫre > culóur.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free ǫ before oral consonants becomes *u* (written sometimes *o*, sometimes *u*, and sometimes *ou*) : dǫbitat (CL. dŭbĭtăt) > dǫbtat > dǫtet (orthography *dotet*, *dutet*, or *doutet*). Cf. 76.

65. 1) Free ǫ before nasal consonants becomes ǭ : dǫnat > dǭnet. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

2) In proparoxytones whose accented vowel becomes checked through the fall of the vowel of the penult, free ǫ before nasal consonants becomes ǭ : nǫmeru (CL. nŭmĕrŭm) > nǭmbre. Cf. 76.

66. Checked ǫ before oral consonants becomes *u* (written *o*, *u*, or *ou*) : gǫtta (CL. gŭttăm) > gǫte [gote, gute, or goute].

67. Checked ǫ before nasal consonants becomes ǭ : ǫnda (CL. ŭndăm) > ǭnde. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

68. ǫ + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes *ói* : dǫcta (CL. dŭctăm) > dǫ́ite (158.1). Before nasals the result is *ǫ́i* : pǫgnu (CL. pŭgnŭm) > poing (pronounced pǫ́iṅ—cf. 160).

69. ǫ + *u* (35. Note 1) becomes *óu* : yǫgu (CL. jŭgŭm) > jǫ-u > jǫ́u (145 and 77).

$u̞$

VL. $u̞$ corresponds to CL. $ū$.

70. Free and checked $u̞$ before oral consonants become $ü$ (the orthography of this sound was of course u, without the superposed dots): $mu̞ru > mür$.

71. Free and checked $u̞$ before nasal consonants become $ü̃$: $u̞nu > ü̃n$. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

72. $u̞$ + epenthetic i (35. Note 1) becomes $ǘi$: $fru̞ctu > frǘit$ (158. 1). Before nasals the result is $ü̃́i$: $ju̞ni̞u > jü̃́iń$ (203).

au

VL. au corresponds to CL. au.

73. Free and checked au before oral consonants become $ǫ$; before nasal consonants $ǭ$: $causa > chǫse$; $háunita$ (a borrowed word—the Germanic $haunipa$) > $hǭnte$. Cf. 35. Note 3, and 178. Note.

74. au + epenthetic i (35. Note 1) becomes $ǫ́i$: $nausi̞a$ (CL. $nausĕa$) > $nǫ́ise$ (196).

75. au + u (35. Note 1) becomes $ǫ́u$: $pau̞cu > pau-u$ (145 and 77) > $pǫ́u$.

Posttonic Vowels

In the Penult

76. All unstressed penult vowels dropped out during the first Old French period : $plátu̞nu > platnu > plane$ (for fall of t, cf. 120).

Note 1. Similar syncopes had taken place during the Vulgar Latin period (16–20).

Note 2. The Old French syncopes of unstressed penult vowels took place before those of post-secondary-stress vowels (80. 2 ; 122. Note 2 ; 143. Note 2 ; 148. Note), but did not take place all at the same time. Some were early, some comparatively late. It seems impossible to deduce general laws as to their relative chronology. Sometimes, however, we may infer that the syncopes of certain words took place before those of certain other words. For instance, if—as is

probable—every VL. free *ę* before oral consonants became OF. *ię* at about the same time, a comparison of the developments *tępidu* > *tięde* and *męrula* > *męrle* shows that the *u* of *merula* dropped out before the *i* of *tepidu* (46. 2).

In the Ultima

77. As we shall see in 78, most final vowels became silent, the time of their disappearance being about the eighth century. But when final *u* or *i* came into contact with a preceding stressed vowel before the eighth century, they usually combined with it into a diph-thong. This early contact occurred (1) when VL. did away with an hiatus by forming a diphthong (cf. the last paragraph of 16–20): early VL. *fuį* > later VL. *fuį* > OF. *füi* ; (2) when intervening sounds dropped out before the eighth century : early VL. *amari* > later VL. *amaį* > OF. *amái* ; VL. *sapuį* > seventh century OF. *sǫ-i* (206. Note) > later OF. *sói* ; VL. *fǫcu* > seventh century OF. *fǫ-u* (145) > later OF. *föu*. Cf. 45 ; 51 ; 57 ; 63 ; 69 ; 75 ; and 35. Note 1.

78. 1) Final *a* remains as *ę* : *terra* > *terrę*.

2) Other final vowels generally disappear about the eighth century : *muru* > *mur*. In the following three cases, however, they remain as *ę* : (**a**) after practically all primary consonant groups (103. Note 1) whose last element is a liquid or a nasal consonant : *helmu* > *helmę* ; (**b**) after practically all secondary consonant groups : *vivere* > *virrę* (76); (**c**) after a labial + *į* : *rọbiu* (CL. *rŭbĕŭm*) > *rugę* (191).

3) The rules given under 1 and 2 apply also when the vowel of the ultima is followed by a single consonant : *abbas* > *abęs* ; *corpus* > *cors* ; *tępidus* > *tiedęs*. But ultima vowels followed by a consonant group always remain as *ę* : *rendunt* > *vendęnt*. And ultima vowels followed by *r* always remain as *ę*, but suffer metathesis : *pater* > *pedrę*.

Pretonic Vowels

79. We divide pretonic vowels into two classes : (1) ' Post-secondary-stress ' vowels—for example, the *i* in *sànitáte* ; be it noted that all **VL. words with two or more syllables preceding the**

tonic syllable have a secondary stress on the first syllable.
(2) 'Initial-syllable pretonic' vowels—for example, the first *a* in
sanáre or in *sànitáte*.

Note. It is probable that a Vulgar Latin syllable which bore a secondary
stress continued to bear a secondary stress throughout the first and second Old
French periods ; even when, through the fall of a post-secondary-stress vowel, it
came to stand before a tonic syllable.

a) Post-Secondary-Stress Vowels

80. 1) Post-secondary-stress *a* becomes *ę* : *càntatóre* > *chántędour*.
But when followed by an epenthetic *i* the result is *ái* : *òratįóne* >
oráison.

2) Other post-secondary-stress vowels usually become *ę* (or,
if combined with epenthetic *i*, a diphthong ending in *i*) when they
are followed by any consonant group (*àbellána* > *avęluine*), or by *lį*
or *nį* ; or preceded by a consonant group whose last element is a liquid
or a nasal consonant (*quàdrifóreu* > *carręfur*). Otherwise they are
usually syncopated (76. Note 2): **sòbitánu* (CL. *sŭbĭtānĕŭm*) > *sob-
danu* > *sudain* (122. 2. c).

Note. But very many post-secondary-stress vowels underwent the influence of
analogy (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11). For example, *màritáre* > *marįder*
(instead of *marder*—cf. 122. 2. c) from analogy with *marít* < *marítu*.

b) Initial-Syllable Pretonic Vowels

i

81. Free and checked *į* before oral consonants and free *į* before
nasal consonants remain *į* : *prįvare* > *prįver*.

Note. In some words which come to have, in OF., *i* in the tonic syllable,
initial-syllable pretonic *į*, by the process called 'dissimilation,' becomes *ę* : *fínire*
> *fęnįr*.

82. Checked *į* before nasal consonants becomes *į̄* : *prįmtempus*
(CL. *prīmŭm tĕmpŭs*) > *prįntens*.

3

83. *i* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *i* (in *i̧* when before nasal consonants) : *dictare* > *ditier* (158. 1).

ẹ

VL. pretonic *ẹ* became *e* at the very end
of the VL. period ; so VL. pretonic *e*
corresponds to CL. *ĭ*, *ē*, and *ĕ*.

84. Free *e* before oral consonants and nasal consonants becomes *ẹ* : *renire* (earlier VL. *venire*) > *venire*. Checked *e* before oral consonants remains *e* : *vertute* (CL. *vĭrtūtĕm*) > *vertut*.

85. Checked *e* before nasal consonants becomes *ẽ*, and then, except before *ń*, develops further into *ã* : *entrare* > *ẽntrer* > *ãntrer* (but the orthography usually continues *entrer*); *seniore* > *sẽńour* [*seignour*].

86. *e* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *éi* (in *ẽ́i* before nasal consonants): *eksire* (CL. *ĕxĭrĕ*) > *éissir* (158. 1).

a

87. Free *a* before oral and nasal consonants remains *a* : *avaru* > *aver*. After palatals (103) it becomes *e* : *caballu* > *chẹval*. It also becomes *e* when, because of the fall of a consonant, it comes to stand before *ü* : *sabucu* > *seü* (106).

88. Checked *a* before oral consonants remains *a* : *castellu* > *chastel*.

89. Checked *a* before nasal consonants becomes *ã* : *cantare* > *chãnter*.

90. *a* + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in *ái*, which then becomes *éi* (though the orthography remains *ai*—cf. 56): *tractare* > *tráitier* > *tréitier* (158. 1) Before nasal consonants the result is *ã́i* : *planksisti* (CL. *plănxĭstī*) > *plã́insis* (163).

ǫ

91. Free *ǫ* before oral consonants becomes *u*, written indifferently *u*, *o*, and *ou* : *probare* > *pruver* (in the manuscripts we find indiscriminately all three forms *pruver, prover, prouver*).

92. Checked ǫ before oral consonants remains ǫ : *pǫrtare* > *pǫrter*.

93. Free and checked ǫ before nasal consonants become ǭ : *sǫnare* > *sǭner*.

94. ǫ + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) becomes ǫ́i before oral conso-
nants, ǭ́i before nasal consonants : *ǫctobre* > *ǫ́itourre* (158. 1).

<p style="text-align:center">ọ</p>

95. Free and checked ọ before oral consonants become u̧, written
either *u*, *o*, or *ou* : *plọrare* > *plu̧rer*.

96. Free and checked ọ before nasal consonants become ǭ : *dọnare*
> *dǭner*.

97. ọ + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in ọ́i before oral conso-
nants, ǭ́i before nasal consonants : *pọtịọne* > *pọ́ison* (193).

<p style="text-align:center">u̧</p>

98. Free and checked u̧ before oral consonants and free u̧ before
nasal consonants become ü (written *u*—cf. 70): *u̧sare* > *üser*.

99. Checked u̧ before nasal consonants becomes ü̃ : *lu̧ndịe* (CL.
lūnae dïĕm) > *lü̃ndi*.

100. u̧ + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in ǘi (in ü̃́i before
nasal consonants): *lu̧cente* > *lǘisant* (135. 1).

<p style="text-align:center">au</p>

101. Free and checked au before oral consonants become ǫ,
before nasal consonants ǭ : *pausare* > *pǫser; haunire* (a borrowed
word—Germanic *haunjan*) > *hǭnir*.

102. au + epenthetic *i* (35. Note 1) results in ǫ́i : *nausịare* (CL.
nauščārĕ) > *nǫ́isir* (196).

CONSONANTS

103. From Vulgar Latin Old French received the following consonants:

	Oral Consonants					Nasal Consonants
	Mutes		Spirants		Liquids	
	Surds	Sonants	Surds	Sonants		
Labials	p	b	f	v, w		m
Dentals	t	d	s		l, r	n
Palatals	$k(133)$	$g(133)$			y(cf. remark before 150)	$ŋ(178)$

Furthermore : the **aspirate,** h (21–28); and the **semivowels,** $i̯$ and $u̯$ (cf. the last paragraph of 16–20). The difference of pronunciation between $i̯$ and y, or between $u̯$ and w (13–14), is almost inappreciable : in $i̯$ and $u̯$ the vowel element is slightly more prominent than in y and w. —It should be borne in mind that the letters of the above table are phonetic symbols (13-14), and that several of them were rarely used either in CL. or VL. orthography : k, for example, represents the sound of k in English, which sound was usually written c in CL. and VL.

During the first Old French period these consonants made many changes, which were, of course, in accordance with the extreme tendency of the language toward contraction (1–4). Two main processes of development may be noted : (1) consonants which are initial in a word (like the first c in *calcare*), or initial in a syllable following a syllable ending in a consonant (like the second c in *calcare*), rendered solid and steadfast by their prominent position in the word, tend to remain intact ; (2) consonants which are intervocal (like the c in *pacare*), or final in a syllable followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant (like the c in *tractare*), tend to disinte-

grate, as it were, or even to disappear entirely. Sections 104–206 are a detailed enumeration of the results of, and the divergences from, these two processes. In our discussion of the consonants we shall adopt the following order : labials, exclusive of w (cf. 154, ff.), and m (cf. 178, ff.) ; dentals, exclusive of l and r (cf. 165, ff.), and n (cf. 178, ff.) ; palatals, exclusive of $ɲ$ (cf. 178, ff.) ; liquids ; h ; nasal consonants ; palatalized consonants ; labialized consonants.

Note 1. We shall often have occasion to speak of 'consonant groups.' These are of two kinds : a 'primary' group is one already existent in Vulgar Latin (the *ld* of *caldarius*); a 'secondary' group is one formed by an Old French syncope (the *l'd* of *solder* < *solidare*). ' Whenever we use the term ' consonant group ' without further specification, let it be understood as inclusive of both kinds.—The component elements of consonant groups sometimes remain unchanged, as in *porta* > *porte* (168), but usually one element is affected by another, a process called 'assimilation.' Sometimes assimilation is complete, as in *septe* > *set* (111), sometimes partial, as in *semita* > *semta* (76) > *sente* (here a labial becomes a dental from assimilation to a following dental—cf. 185). In studying cases of assimilation it is of practical value to remember that the first of two consonants is usually assimilated to the second (cf. what has been said just above of the *c* in *tractare*). It is also well to bear in mind that, if a secondary group consisting of a surd and a sonant undergoes an assimilatory process, the resultant combination is usually surd if either one of the elements, at the moment of combination, is surd ; otherwise the resultant combination is usually sonant (cf., for instance, 122. 2. a, 141. Note, 143. 2).

Note 2. Sonant consonants which in the course of their development come to be final in Old French, become surd (*nudu* > *nud* > *nut*—cf. 116). It must be noted, however, that a consonant which is final in the literal sense of the word 'final' is often practically medial. Whenever *nud*, for example, was immediately followed in connected and rapid speech by a word beginning with a vowel, the *d* was practically an intervocal consonant. In such circumstances, naturally, *nud* did not become *nut*. Throughout the first and second Old French periods, therefore, words ending in a consonant possessed two pronunciations, choice between them being dependent upon position in the sentence. For convenience, however, we shall ignore this double development ; we shall assume that all those final consonants which we shall discuss stand before a pause. Cf. the third paragraph of 10–11, 277, and the Appendix.

Labials

$p \quad b \quad f \quad v$

104. Initial labials remain intact : *vannu > van*.

105. Intervocal *p* becomes *b* and then *v* : *ripa > ribe > rive*. But if this *v* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *f* (103. Note 2): **capu* (CL. *căpŭt*) *> chier > chief*.

106. VL. intervocal *b* had become *v* before the beginning of OF. (21–28), and thereafter developed like VL. intervocal *v* ; which remained intact (*avaru > aver*), unless it came to be final in OF., in which case it became *f* (*vivu > vif*—cf. 103. Note 2). But *v* disappeared before stressed *o* and *u* : *pavóre > paour*.

107. Intervocal *f* disappears : **refusare > reuser*.

108. Double labials are simplified : *ceppu* (CL. *cīppŭm*) *> cĕp* (41).

109. In the consonant-groups *pr, br* (103. Note 1) the labials become *v* : *fabru > fevre*. In the group *vr* the *v* remains intact : *vivere > vivre*.

110. *pl* (103. Note 1) becomes *bl* : *pópulu > pueble*. *bl* and *fl* remain intact : **garófulu* (58. 2) *> gerofle*.

111. Before other consonants than *r* and *l*, labials disappear completely : *septe > set; vivit > vivt > vit*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

112. Postconsonantal labials remain intact : *barba > barbe*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

113. If a postconsonantal labial comes to be final in OF. : OF. *p* remains intact (*eampu > champ*) ; *b* becomes *p* (*orbu > orp*) ; *v* becomes *f* (*cervu > cerf*); *f* falls (*gomfu*—CL. *gŏmphŭm*—*> gon*). Cf. 103. Note 2.

114. Interconsonantal *p, b, f* remain intact before *r* and *l* (*árbore > arbre*), but disappear before other consonants (*corpus > eorps > cors*). Interconsonantal *v* disappears (*servus > servs > sers*); but in the groups *nv'l* and *lv'r* it is replaced by a transitional sound—*nv'l* becoming *mv'l* (184) and then *mbl*, *lv'r* becoming *ldr* (*pólvere > polvre > polre > poldre*).

Dentals

t d

115. Initial dental mutes remain intact; *duru* > *dur*.

116. Intervocal *t* became *d*; this *d* and VL. intervocal *d* thereafter developed alike; they weakened to the sound of *th* in English *brother*, which then became less and less audible, until, at about the end of the first period, it was almost silent : *espata* (CL. *spăthă*) > *espede* > *espede* (13–14). But when *d* came to be final in OF., it changed to the sound of *th* in English *thin* (103. Note 2), which then became less and less audible, and by 1100 was almost silent : *nudu* > *nud* > *nut* [*nut*].

117. 1) Double dentals (103. Note 1) are simplified : *cattu* > *chat*.

2) The groups *t'd*, *d't*, become *t* : *nétida* > *netdu* > *nete*.

3) In the secondary groups dental + *tš* and dental + *dž* the first dental is completely assimilated to the second : *judicare* > *juldžier* (143. 2) > *judžier*.

118. Intervocal *tr* (103. Note 1) becomes *dr*, and thereafter develops like VL. intervocal *dr* and *d'r*. The *dr* of these various proveniences becomes *dr* : *patre* > *pedre*.

119. Intervocal *tl* (103. Note 1) becomes *dl*, and thereafter develops like VL. intervocal *dl* and *d'l*. The *dl* of these various proveniences becomes *dl* : *Rodlandu* (a Germanic name, *Hrobland*) > *Rodlant*.

120. Before *n* and *m* the dental mutes disappear : *plátunu* > *platuu* > *plaue*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

121. If *d*, whether it be VL. *d* or OF. *d* from VL. *t* (116), comes through the syncope of a vowel to stand before *s*, it becomes *t* (the orthography of the sound *ts* is usually *z*): *amatis* > *amedis* > *ameds* > *amets* [*amez*]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

122. Postconsonantal dental mutes developed as follows :

1) In primary groups which did not come to be final in OF.,

t and *d* remained intact : *fontana > fontaine* ; *ardére > ardeir.* Cf.
103. Note 1.

2) In secondary groups which did not come to be final in OF. ;
(**a**) *d* remained *d* when it came to follow a sonant consonant in OF.,
but became *t* when it came to follow a surd consonant in OF. (cf.
the last sentence of 103. Note 1); this latter process took place only
when the surd had not had time, the syncope being early (76. Note
2), to 'disintegrate' (103) from a surd to a sonant before coming
into contact with the *d* : *sápidu > sabidu* (105) *> sabdu > sade*
(111); *nétida > netda > nete* (117. 2).   (**b**) *t* which was initial in
the ultima of a proparoxytone came into contact with the preceding
consonant (76) before the change of intervocal *t* to *d* (116), and so,
as might be surmised from 122. 1, remained *t* : *ámita > ante*
(185).   (**c**) *t* which was initial in the tonic syllable of a paroxytone
came into contact with the preceding consonant (80. 2) after be-
coming *d* (116); this *d*, as might be surmised from 122. 1,
remained *d* : *sòbitánu (CL. *sŭbītānčŭm*) *> sobdanu > sudain* (111).
(No OF. word contained the secondary group surd $+$ *d* in the position
under discussion.   In such a group *d* would undoubtedly have
become *t*—cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1.)

3) When postconsonantal dental mutes came to be final in OF.,
t remained *t* and *d* became *t* (103. Note 2): *tardu > tart* ; *déyitu*
(CL. *dīgĭtŭm*) *> deyt > deit* (158. 1).

   Note 1. Many secondary groups consisting of consonant $+$ dental underwent
the influence of analogy (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11).   For instance,
dobitáre > duter (instead of *duder*) from analogy with *duet < dóbitat.*
   Note 2. Comparison of such developments as *amita > ante* and **sobitanu >*
sudain shows that as a rule unstressed penult vowels fell out before post-secondary-
stress vowels did.   Cf. 143. Note 2, and 148. Note.

   123. Interconsonantal *t* remains intact before *r* and *s* ; interconso-
nantal *d* remains intact before *r*, but becomes *t* before *s* ; otherwise
interconsonantal dental mutes disappear : *pérdere > perdre* ; *tendit >*
tendt > tent.
   124. Final dental mutes, if they follow a vowel, gradually become

DENTALS

less and less audible, both *t* and *d* becoming *t̯* : *ad* > *ad̯* > *at̯* (written indiscriminately *a*, *ad*, *at*). But if they follow a consonant (103. Note 1) the result is *t* : *valet* > *valt* (> *vant* before the end of the first OF. period—cf. 174). Cf. 103. Note 2.

Note. Some verb-endings have *t̯* when we should expect *t*; some have *t* when we should expect *t̯* : for example, *at̯* < *abet* (CL. *hăbĕt*). The cause of an irregularity of this nature is usually some analogical or syntactical influence (cf. 10–11).

<center>*s*</center>

125. Initial *s* remains intact : *sanu* > *sain*.

126. Intervocal *s* becomes *z* [*s*] : *pausare* > *pozer* [*poser*]. If this *z* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *s* again (103. Note 2) : *nasu* > *nez* > *nes*.

127. Double *s* is simplified (written *ss* when intervocal, *s* otherwise): **fossa* (60) > *jose* [*josse*]; *passu* > *pas*.

128. Before surd mutes *s* remains intact : *festa* > *jeste*. In the group *sts*, however, it disappears : *ostes* (CL. *hŏstĕs*) > *osts* > *ots* [*oz* —cf. 121]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

129. Before other consonants than surd mutes (but cf. 130) *s* first becomes *z* and then disappears (but remains orthographically): *asinu* > *asnu* > *aznu* > *ane* [*asne*]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

130. The group *ss'r* becomes *str* : *éssere* (CL. *ĕssĕ*) > *esre* (127) > *estre* ; *s'r* becomes *zdr* and then *dr* : **cósere* (CL. *cōnsŭĕrĕ*) > *cuzre* (129) > *euzdre* > *eudre*.

131. Postconsonantal *s* remains *s* (written *ss* when intervocal, otherwise *s*): *orsu* (CL. *ŭrsŭm*) > *urs*.

132. Final *s* remains intact (103. Note 2): *plus* > *plus*.

The Palatals before Vowels

133. The VL. palatal mutes before vowels had three different shades of pronunciation—and therefore developed in three different manners—according to the place of contact between the tongue and palate. When they were followed by *o* or *u* the contact of the tongue

was with the soft palate (**velar palatals**—represented in this grammar by k, g); when followed by a or au the contact was with the back of the hard palate (**postpalatals**—represented by k^1, g^1); when followed by e or i the contact was with the middle of the hard palate (**mediopalatals** —represented by k^2, g^2). It should be borne in mind that k, k^1, and k^2 were all written c in VL., and corresponded to c in CL.

Note 1. VL. g^2 became y even before the end of the VL. period (21–28). For its development during OF., cf. 150 ff.

Note 2. Palatals, when they stood before a or e, generated an i, which then combined with the a or e in various ways (cf. the remark immediately before 191). Since we have already described the results of these combinations (39. 1 ; 40. 1 ; 52. 1 ; 53. 1 ; 56 ; 87), we shall exclude all mention of them from the following sections.

$$k^2 \text{ (For } g^2, \text{ cf. 133. Note 1.)}$$

134. Initial k^2 becomes ts [c] : *cervu* > *tserf* [*cerf*].

135. Intervocal k^2 becomes $d\dot z$ (the sound of ds-y in the English words *bids you*). This $d\dot z$ soon loses its palatalization (13–14), but generates an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel. Then :

1) When it remains intervocal in OF., it becomes z [s] : *lucent* > *lüdzent* > *lü-idzent* > *lüïdzent* (72) > *lüizent* [*luisent*].

2) When it comes to be final in OF., it becomes ts (103. Note 2) : *roce* > *rodže* > *ro-idz* > *róidz* (68) > *róits* [*roiz* — cf. 121].

3) When it comes to stand before t in OF., it becomes s : *docet* > *duçet* > *duçdzt* > *duç-idzt* > *düïdzt* (62) > *düïst*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

136. sk^2 (103. Note 1) becomes s ; then, losing its palatalization, but generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel, becomes s (when intervocal written ss, otherwise s): *vascellu* > *vašel* > *ra-isel* > *váisel* [*raissel*] (90).

137. After other consonants than s, k^2 becomes ts (written z when final, otherwise c): *rómice* (CL. *rŭmĭcĕm*) > *rontse* [*ronce*]: *dolce* (CL. *dŭlcĕm*) > *dults* [*dolz*]. The group kk^2 becomes ts : *baccinu* > *batsin* [*bacin*]. Cf. 103. Note 1.

$$k^1 \quad g^1$$

138. Initial g^1 becomes $d\check{z}$ (written j before a, o, u; g before e, i): *gamba* — *džambe* [*jambe*].

139. Initial k^1 becomes $t\check{s}$ [*ch*]: *caru* > *tšier* [*chier*] (133. Note 2).

140. Intervocal k^1 became g^1, and thereafter developed like VL. g^1, which:

1) After a, e, i, became y, generating at the same time an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel: *plaga* > *pla-iye* > *pláiye* (56). The orthography was *plaie*—the i, exactly like an intervocal y in modern French, did double duty, representing both the epenthetic i and the y. If the preceding vowel was i, both the epenthetic i and the y were completely assimilated to it: *amica* > *amiga* > *ami-iye* > *ami-ye* (38) > *amie*. If the preceding vowel was tonic e, it and the epenthetic i and the y blended into one i: *necat* > *ni-yet* (50) > *niet*.

2) After u and o, disappeared completely, not even influencing a following a or e (cf. 133. Note 2): *locare* > *lu̯er* (52. 1).

141. Postconsonantal g^1 becomes $d\check{z}$ (written j before a, o, u; g before e, i): *navigare* > *navgare* > *nadžier* [*nagier*] (111). Cf. 133. Note 2.

Note. No OF. word contained the secondary group surd + g^1. In such a group g^1 would undoubtedly have become $t\check{s}$ (cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1).

142. 1) Postconsonantal k^1 in primary consonant groups becomes $t\check{s}$ [*ch*]: *marcare* > *martšier* [*marchier*] (133. Note 2).

2) kk^1 becomes $t\check{s}$: *peccatu* > *petšiet* (133. Note 2).

143. In secondary consonant groups, postconsonantal k^1 developed in a twofold manner:

1) k^1 which was initial in the ultima of a proparoxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (76) before the change of intervocal k^1 to g^1 (140), and so, as might be surmised from 142. 1, became $t\check{s}$: *mánica* > *manca* > *mantše* [*manche*].

2) k^1 which was initial in the tonic syllable of a paroxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (80. 2) after becoming g^1 (140); this g^1, in accordance with 141 and 141. Note, became

either *dž* or *tš*, according as it came into contact with a sonant or a surd (cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1): *dĕlicátu* > *deligatu* > *deldžiet* [*delgiet*] (133. Note 2); **elòppicáre* > *cloppigare* > *clotšier* [*clochier*] (111).

Note 1. Many secondary groups consisting of consonant + *k* or *g* underwent the influence of analogy. For instance, *caballicáre* > *cheraltšier* (instead of *cheraldžier*) from analogy with *cheraltšet* < *caballicat*.

Note 2. The comparison of such processes as *manica* > *manche* and *delicatu* > *delgiet* confirms the inference of 122. Note 2.

k g

144. Initial *g* and *k* remain intact : *gotta* (CL. *gŭttă*) > *gute* ; *cura* > *cure*.

145. Intervocal *k* became *g*, and then, together with VL. intervocal *g*, became silent : *paucu* > *pǫu* (77 and 75); *jagu* > *jǫu* (77 and 57). This process was completed very early in the first OF. period.

Note. In certain words *g* and *k*, in becoming silent, generate an epenthetic *i* : **veracu* (CL. *vērācĕm*) > *verái* (56). In some of these words the *i* seems to be due to analogical influence, in some to syntactical, in some to dialectal ; in still others (as in *verai*) it has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

146. The primary consonant group *sk* becomes *s*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *nasco* > *na-is* > *náis* (56). Cf. 103. Note 1.

147. 1) In all primary consonant groups except *sk*, postconsonantal *k* and *g* remain intact : *arcu* > *are*. But when postconsonantal *g* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *k* (103. Note 2) : *largu* > *larg* > *lare*.

2) Double *k* is simplified : *saccu* > *sac*.

148. 1) *k* which was initial in the tonic syllable of a paroxytone came into contact with the preceding consonant (80. 2) after becoming *g* (145); this *g*, as might be surmised from 147. 1, remained *g* : *vĕrecúndia* > *veregundia* > *vergogne*. (No OF. word contained the secondary group surd + *k* in the position under discussion. In such

a group *k* would undoubtedly have remained intact — cf. the last
sentence of 103. Note 1.)

2) Some VL. proparoxytones ended in *-iku* (CL. *-ĭcŭm*).
This *k*, before it came into contact with the preceding consonant (76),
had ‘disintegrated’— cf. 103 —not only into *g* (145), but even from
g into *y* : this *y* became *tš* if it came into contact with an OF. surd,
dž if with an OF. sonant (cf. the last sentence of 103. Note 1):
pórticu ˃ *portiyu* ˃ *porttše* ˃ *portše* [*porche*] (for the disappearance
of the first *t*, cf. 117. 3); *médicu* ˃ *miediyu* ˃ *mieddže* ˃ *miedže*
[*miege*] (117. 3).

Note. We have seen (122. Note 2, and 143. Note 2) that unstressed penult
vowels usually dropped out earlier than post-secondary-stress vowels. But com-
parison of such processes as *verecundia* ˃ *vergogne* and *medicu* ˃ *miege* leads us to
infer that the *i* of the proparoxytonic ending *-icu* dropped out very late, even
later than the post-secondary-stress vowels did.

Final *k*

149. Those few VL. words which end in *k* show no uniformity
of development. For instance : *poroc* (CL. *prō hŏc*) ˃ *poruec* ; *illác*
˃ *la* ; *fac* ˃ *fa-i* ˃ *fái* (56). Cf. 103. Note 2.

y

> VL. *y* corresponds to CL. *j*, *g* before *e*,
> *g* before *i* (cf. 133. Note 1), *gi* before a
> vowel, *ge* before a vowel, *di* before a
> vowel, *de* before a vowel ; having come,
> of course, from earlier VL. *j*, etc.

150. Initial *y* becomes *dž* (written *j* before *a*, *o*, *u* ; *g* before *e*, *i*):
yornu (CL. *diŭrnŭm*) ˃*jurn.*

151. Posttonic intervocal *y* remains *y*, at the same time generating
an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *neyent* (CL. *nĕgĕnt*) ˃
ne̦-iyent ˃ *niyent* (50) (written *nient*, the *i* doing double duty—cf.
140. 1). But when the preceding vowel is *i̦*, *iy* is completely

assimilated to it : *riyant* (CL. *rīdĕănt*) > *ri̢-iyent* > *ri̢-yent* (38) >
ri̢ent. And when the *y* comes to be final in OF., it disappears (103.
Note 2): *mayu* (CL. *măjŭm*) > *ma-iy* > *mái* (56).

152. Pretonic intervocal *y* is assimilated to a following *i* or *u* :
reyi̢na (CL. *rēgīnă*) > *re̢i̢ne* ; *yeyúnu* (CL. *jĕjūnŭm*) > *je̢ün*. Before
other vowels it remains *y*, at the same time generating an epenthetic
i after the preceding vowel : *mayóre* (CL. *mājŏrĕm*) > *ma-iyour* >
máiyour (written *maiour*, the *i* doing double duty—cf. 140. 1); *payése*
(CL. *păgēnsĕm*—for disappearance of *n*, cf. 21–28) > *pa-iyes* > *páiyis*
(written *pais*, the *i* here doing triple duty) (133. Note 2, and 39. 1).

153. 1) *y* after *r* becomes *dž* (written *j* before *a, o, u* ; *g* before
e, i) : *aryentu* (CL. *ărgĕntŭm*) > *ardžent* [*argent*]. But when the
dž comes to stand before a consonant in OF., it disappears : *teryit*
(CL. *tĕrgĭt*) > *terdžt* > *tert*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

    2) *ly, ny* (178) become *ľ, ň*, which thereafter develop like
ľ and *ň* of other provenience, as explained in detail in 159 and 160.
Cf. also 200 and 203.

<p align="center">*kw   gw*</p>

> VL. *kw* corresponds to CL. *qu* before a
> vowel ; VL. *gw* corresponds to CL. *gu*
> before a vowel, and to Germanic *w* ;
> having come, of course from earlier VL.
> *qu* — vowel, etc.

154. Initial *gw* and *kw* become *g* and *k* (usually written *gu* and
qu) : *gwardare* (borrowed from the Germanic *wardon*) > *garder*
[*guarder*]; *kwando* (CL. *quăndō*) > *kant* [*quant*].

155. The few words which contain intervocal *gw* and *kw* show
inexplicable differences of development. The most common process is
perhaps this : *gw* and *kw* both become *v*, at the same time generating
an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *akwa* (CL. *ăquă*) >
a-ive > *áive* (56).

156. Postconsonantal *gw* and *kw* become *g* and *k* [*gu* and *qu*] :
ongwentu (CL. *ŭngŭĕntŭm*) > *ongent* [*onguent*]. But when *g* from

gw comes to be final in OF., it becomes k (103. Note 2): *sangwe*
(CL. *sănguĕm*) > *sang* > *sank* [*sanc*].

The Palatals before Consonants

157. Initial palatals before consonants remain unchanged : *granu*
> *grain.*

158. 1) When the group palatal + consonant (103. Note 1) fol-
lows a vowel, the palatal becomes y, which then palatalizes (13–14)
the consonant. This palatalization then disappears, but not before
generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel : *negru* (CL.
nĭgrŭm) > *ne-yr* > *ne-r̆* > *ne-ir* > *néir* (44) ; *tractare* > *tra-ytare* >
tra-t'are > *tra-itier* (133. Note 2) > *tráitier* (56).

2) In the groups *etĭ* and *cs* + consonant (103. Note 1), the
c disappears without generating an epenthetic i : *tractĭat > *tratset*
[*tracet*] (195); *exténdere* (*ex = ecs*) > *estendre.*

159. Palatal + l (103. Note 1) becomes l'. This l', if it is inter-
vocal or final in OF., remains l' (written *ill* when intervocal ; *il* when
final) : *vèyiláre* (CL. *vĭgĭlărĕ*) > *veylare* > *vel'are* > *vel'ier* [*veillier*]
(133. Note 2). If it comes to stand before a consonant in OF., it
loses its palatalization (before s, however, generating a transitional t) :
vĕclus (CL. *vĕtŭlŭs*) > *viĕl's* > *viĕlts* [*vielz*].

160. Palatal + n (103. Note 1) becomes $\acute{n}$. This $\acute{n}$, if it comes
to be final in OF., remains $\acute{n}$, at the same time generating an epen-
thetic i after the preceding vowel (this $i\acute{n}$ is usually written *ing*) :
pognu (CL. *pŭgnŭm*) > *po-i\acute{n}* > *pói\acute{n}* [*poing*] (68). If it comes to
stand before a consonant in OF., it loses its palatalization, but gene-
rates an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel : *degnet* (CL. *dĭgnĕt*)
> *de-int* > *déint* (44). If the consonant be s, a transitional t is
inserted : *pognus* > *póins* (68) > *póints* [*poinz*]. If it is intervocal
in OF., it remains $\acute{n}$ [*ign*] but does not generate an epenthetic i :
degnat > *déñet* [*deignet*] (42).

161. In the following groups (103. Note 1) the palatal remains
intact) : *ngl* (pronounced *ŋgl*—cf. 178, and also 187), *ncl*, *rcl*. For
example : *ángulu* > *anglu* > *angle.*

162. In the following groups, whether primary or secondary, the palatal disappears without leaving any trace : *reš*, *ren*, *rgl*, *sel*, *ryl*, *ryn*, *rys*, *ryt*. For example : *másculu* > *masclu* > *masle* (> *male*— cf. 129). Cf. 103. Note 1.

163. When a preconsonantal palatal follows *n* (pronounced $ŋ$— cf. 178, and also 187) or *s*, except in the groups mentioned in 161 and 162, it drops out, but causes palatalization of the *n* or *s* ; this palatalization then disappears, but generates an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel. In the group *ny'r* a transitional *d* is also inserted, and in the groups *nc'r*, *sc'r* a transitional *t* : *pascit* > *pasct* > *past* > *pa-ist* > *páist* (56) ; *téṇyere* (CL. *tingĕrĕ*) > *tęnyre* > *tęńre* > *tę-indre* > *tę́indre* (44).

164. In the following groups the palatal is replaced by a transitional *t* or *d*, but no epenthetic *i* is generated : *rc'r* > *rtr* ; *ry'r* > *rdr* ; *lg'r* > *ldr*. For example : *cárcere* > *charcre* > *chartre*.

Liquids

r

It should be borne in mind that the modern French pronunciation of *r* (the so-called 'uvular *r*') existed neither in VL. nor in OF. Until the 17th century *r* was pronounced with the tip of the tongue.

165. Initial *r* remains intact : *risu* > *ris*.

166. Intervocal *r* remains intact : *caru* > *chier*.

167. Double *r* remains intact when it is still intervocal in OF. (*terra* > *terre*); but it is simplified if it comes to be preconsonantal or final in OF. (*carru* > *char*).

168. Preconsonantal *r* remains intact : *porta* > *porte*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

169. Postconsonantal *r* remains intact : *labra* > *levre*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

170. Final *r* remains intact : *cor* > *cuer*.

l

171. Initial *l* remains intact : *luna* > *lune*.

172. Intervocal *l* remains intact : *tela* > *teile*.

173. Double *l* is simplified : *bella* > *bele*.

174. 1) Preconsonantal *l* (including *l* from *ll*) becomes *u* when it follows *a*, and then combines with the *a* into a diphthong : *falsu* > *faus* ; *valles* > *vals* > *vaus*. Otherwise preconsonantal *l* remains intact, though it becomes *u* after all vowels at the very beginning of the second OF. period (281). Cf. 103. Note 1.

2) *l'r* and *ll'r* become *ldr* (*udr* after *a*): *tóllere* > *tolre* > *toldre*.

175. After labials and *r* and *s*, *l* remains intact : *Cárolus* > *Carlus* > *Charles*. For *l* after other dentals, cf. 119. For *l* after palatals, cf. 159. For *l* after nasals, cf. 186. Cf. 103. Note 1.

176. Final *l* remains intact : *mel* > *miel*.

The Aspirate, *h*

177. *h* remains intact : *haga* (borrowed from Germanic *haga*) > *haie*.

Nasal Consonants

178. VL. had three nasal consonants : *m*, *n*, and *ŋ* (*ŋ* = *n* before palatals ; pronounced like *ng* in English *sing*).

Note. In the following paragraphs we omit, for the sake of simplicity, all mention of the effect of the nasal consonants on the preceding vowel : cf. 35. Note 3 ; and, for the tonic vowels, 37, 38, 40, etc. ; for the initial-syllable pretonic vowels, 82, 83, 85, etc. In this regard, however, the following two differences between modern and Old French should be noted : (1) In modern French a vowel is not nasal if the *n* or *m* is immediately followed

4

by a vowel ; in Old French a vowel was nasal even under those conditions : OF. *áimes* (< VL. *amas*). (2) In modern French the nasal consonant is silent ; in Old French it was pronounced : OF. *an* (< *annu*) was pronounced *ân* ; modern French *an* is pronounced without any dental contact whatever. Cf. 249.

179. Initial nasal consonants remain intact : *nudu* > *nut*.

180. Intervocal nasal consonants, if they are still intervocal in OF., remain intact : *clamure* > *clamer*. But when they come to be final in OF., *m* becomes *n*, *n* remains *n* (103. Note 2): *amo* > *aim* > *ain* [*aim* or *ain*] ; *vinu* > *vin*.

181. Double nasal consonants are simplified : *annellu* > *anel*. If *n* from *nn* comes to stand before *s* in OF., a transitional *t* is inserted : *annus* > *ans* > *ants* [*anz*—cf. 121].

182. The group *mn* (103. Note 1) becomes *mm* and then *m* : *ómine* (CL. *hŏmĭnĕm*) > *omne* > *omme* > *ome*. For *mni̭*, cf. 204.

183. The group *nm* (103. Note 1) also becomes *m* : *ánima* > *anme* > *ame*.

184. Before labials *m* remains intact ; *n* becomes *m* : *amplu* > *ample* ; OF. *en* + OF. *porter* (12. Note) > *enporter* > *emporter*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

185. Before dentals *n* remains intact ; *m* becomes *n* : *ventu* > *vent* ; *sémita* > *semte* > *sente*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

186. When the nasal consonants come to stand before *l* and *r* in OF., there arises a transitional sound, *b* after *m*, *d* after *n* : *trèmuláre* > *tremler* > *trembler* ; *téneru* > *tenre* > *tendre*. Cf. 189. 2.

187. ŋ (178) remains intact as long as it is followed by a palatal : *longu* > *lone* [*lonc*]. But if the following palatal disappears, the ŋ changes in various ways (153. 2, and 163). Cf. 103. Note 1.

188. After labials and dentals the nasal consonants remain intact (except *n* after *m*—cf. 182): *verme* > *verm* ; *cornu* > *eorn*. For the development of *n* after palatals, cf. 160. Cf. 103. Note 1.

189. 1) In the groups *rm's*, *rn's*, *rm't*, *rn't* the nasal consonants disappear : *dormit* > *dormt* > *dort*. Cf. 103. Note 1.

2) *rm'r* becomes *rbr* : *mármore* > *marbre*.

190. Final *m* (there were very few in VL.—cf. 21–28) becomes *n* ; final *n* remains intact : *rem* > *rien* ; *non* > *non*.

The Consonants $+ i$

Cf. the last paragraph of 16–20. The effect of palatalized consonants upon an ensuing *a* or *e* was exactly that of palatals—cf. 133. Note 2. For the reason stated in 133. Note 2, **we will exclude all mention of this process from the following sections.** Cf. also 348. 2.

bi vi

191. bi and vi become $d\check{z}$ (written j before a, o, u; g before e, i): *rabia (CL. *rābiēs*) > *rage*; *cambiare* > *changier*.

pi fi

192. 1) pi becomes $t\check{s}$ [*ch*] : *sapia* > *sache*.

2) fi becomes i, at the same time generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel : *cofia* (borrowed from Germanic *kupphja*) > *co-ife* > *cóife* (68).

ti

193. Intervocal ti becomes z [s], at the same time generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel : *potione* > *po-izon* > *póizon* [*poison*] (97). When the *iz* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *is* (103. Note 2) : *palatiu* > *paláis* (56).

194. sti becomes s (written ss when intervocal ; s when final), at the same time generating an epenthetic i after the preceding vowel : *angostia* (CL. *ăngŭstiă*) > *ango-isse* > *angóisse* (68).

195. After other consonants than s, ti becomes ts (written c when intervocal ; z when final) : *captiare* (CL. *căptāre*) > *chacier* (cf. statement immediately preceding 191).

si

196. Intervocalic si becomes z [s], at the same time generating an

epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *basiat* > *ba-izet* > *báizet* [*baiset*] (56). If the *iz* comes to be final in OF., it becomes *is* (103. Note 2): *pertusiu* (CL. *pěrtūsŭm*) > *pertüis* (72).

197. *ssi* becomes *s* (written *ss* when intervocal ; *s* when final), generating at the same time an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *bassiare > *ba-isier* > *báisier* [*baissier*] (cf. 90 ; also cf. statement immediately preceding 191).

ki

198. Intervocal *ki* becomes *ts* (written *e* when intervocal ; *z* when final): *solaciu* (CL. *sōlātĭŭm*) > *soluts* [*soluz*].

199. Postconsonantal *ki* likewise becomes *ts* ; except in the group *ski*, which becomes *s* (written *ss* when intervocal ; *s* when final), at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *lancia* (CL. *lănceă*) > *lance* ; *fascia* > *fa-isse* > *fáisse* (56).

li

200. *li* and *lli* become *l′*, which then develops like the *l′* discussed in 159 : *puliu* (CL. *pălĕă*) > *pal′e* [*paille*] ; *meliŭs* > *mielts* [*mielz*].

ri

201. Intervocal *ri* becomes *r*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *variu* > *va-ir* > *ráir* (56).

202. Postconsonantal *ri* becomes *r*, at the same time generating an epenthetic *i* after the preceding vowel : *ostria* (CL. *ŏstrĕă*) > *o-istre* > *üistre* (62).

ni

203. Intervocal *ni*, *nni*, *gni*, become *ń*, which then develops like the *ń* discussed in 160 : *yuniu* (CL. *jūnĭŭm*) > *jǜiń* [*juing*] (72); *yuniŭs* > *jǜinz* ; *seniore* > *sęńour* [*seignour*].

204. *mni* generally becomes *ndž* (written *nj* before *a*, *o*, *u* ; *ng* before *e*, *i*): *somniare* > *soudžier* [*songier*] (cf. statement immediately preceding 191).

$mi̧$

205. $mi̧$ and $mmi̧$ become $ndž$ (written nj before a, o, u ; ng before e, i): $simi̧u > singe$.

The Consonants $+$ $u̧$

Cf. the last two paragraphs of 16–20.

206. 1) Almost all intervocal groups consisting of a consonant $+$ $u̧$ (a consonant followed by $u̧$ is called a 'labialized' consonant) become v: $veḑu̧a$ (CL. $vĭdŭă$) $> věve$ (41).

2) Intervocal $nu̧$ and $nnu̧$ become nv: $annu̧ale > anvel$.

Note. The group consonant $+$ $u̧$ occurs very frequently in the perfect tenses of strong verbs: $abu̧i$ (CL. $hăbŭĭ$), $abu̧isti$, etc. But its development in these forms is extremely complicated. No definite formula obtains. We can only say that usually the consonant drops out, the u then combining in some manner with the preceding vowel : $debu̧it > düt$ (45).

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND OLD FRENCH PERIOD

The following sections present the development down to ca. 1515 of those sounds existent ca. 1100. To attempt to date otherwise than very approximately the changes which took place between 1100 and 1515 would lead too far afield—cf. 31. Note. We do so only in especial cases. **In our illustrative sequences the first form is, unless otherwise stated, Vulgar Latin ; the second is Old French of ca. 1100 ; the last is Old French of ca. 1515.**

VOWELS

207. The extreme tendency toward contraction (1–4) is still strong, showing itself especially in the reduction of diphthongs to monophthongs. Following is a detailed discussion of vowel-development during the period.

Note. As to vowel-quantity, the second period was transitional. On the one hand, not only those slight quantitative differences which had remained through the first period (35. Note 2), but even the difference between $\bar{e}$ and $\breve{e}$ (ibid.), tended to disappear entirely, both long and short vowels converging toward one duration, probably rather short than long ; on the other hand, the germs of the modern French quantity-system (in which vowel-quantity varies according to the presence or absence of certain consonants, and according to the distance of the vowel in question from the end of the phrase or breath-group) were undoubtedly already present. It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to draw detailed con-

58

clusions as to quantity. In this grammar we shall be content with the general conclusion that during the second period there were no important quantitative differences; save, of course, that diphthongs were longer than simple vowels. In the following sections we shall disregard the question of quantity (except in 210 and 211—cf. 35. Note 2). As to stress, cf. 35. Note 4, and 79. Note.

Oral Tonic Vowels and Diphthongs

$i̯$

208. For provenience, cf. 36 ; 38 ; 39. 1 ; 43 ; 50 ; 56.

209. $i̯$ remains intact : *dīcere* > *dḭre* > *dḭre*. $i̯ + u̯$ (281) becomes $i̯$: *gentīlis* > *gentḭls* > *gentḭs*.

$ẹ̆$

210. For provenience, cf. 39. 2 ; 41. For development, cf. 211.

$ẹ̄$

211. For provenience, cf. 52. 1. During the thirteenth century both $ẹ̄$ and $ẹ̆$ (210), losing their quantitative difference (207. Note), become $e̩$: *faba* > *fḛre* > *fḛre* ; *mḛttere (41) > *mḛtre* > *mḛtre*. Unless they come to be final, in which case they lose their quantitative difference, but remain $e̩$: *amatu* > *amẹ̄t* > *amḛ* [*amet*] (274). But $ẹ̆ + u̯$ (281) becomes $ö$ [*eu*] : *eapḛllos* > *chevḛls* > *chevös* [*cheveus*] ; and $ẹ̄ + u̯$ becomes $iö$ [*ieu*]: *palus* > *pḛ̄ls* > *piös* [*pieus*].

$ę̣$

212. For provenience, cf. 46. 2 ; 48.

213. $ę̣$ remains intact : *bḛllu* > *bḛl* > *bḛl*. But very early in the second period $ę̣ + u̯$ (281) becomes *çáu*, which then develops as explained in 248 : *bḛllus* > *bḛls* > *bçáus*.

a

214. For provenience, cf. 52. 2 ; 54.

215. a remains intact : *passu* > *pas* > *pas*. Cf. also 174.

ǫ

216. For provenience, cf. 58. 2 ; 60 ; 73.

217. ǫ remains intact : *pǫrta* > *pǫrte* > *pǫrte*. But when it comes to be final, it becomes *ǫ* ; *dǫssu (CL. *dŏrsŭm*) > *dǫs* > *dǫ* [*dos*] (275). ǫ + *u* (281) becomes *u* [*ou*]: *fǫllis* > *fǫls* > *fus* [*fous*].

u

218. For provenience, cf. 64. 2 ; 66.

219. *u* remains intact (*ou* becoming the favorite orthography—cf. 64. 2) : *gǫtta* > *gute* > *gute* [*goute*]. But *u* + *u* (281) becomes *u* [*ou*] : *mǫltu* > *mult* > *mut* [*mout*].

ü

220. For provenience, cf. 45 ; 70.

221. ü remains intact : *cura* > *cüre* > *cüre* [*cure*]. ü + *u* (281) becomes ü : *nullus* > *nüls* > *nüs*.

ẹ́i

222. For provenience, cf. 56 ; 77.

223. ẹ́i becomes ẹ during the first half of the period. This ẹ remains intact, except when it comes to be final, in which case it becomes ẹ (211): *fácere* > *fẹ́ire* > *fẹre* [*faire*] ; *amai* (CL.*ămā́rī*) > *amẹ́i* > *amẹ* [*amai*].

ẹ́i

224. For provenience, cf. 39. 1 ; 44.

225. ẹ́i becomes ọ́i by the thirteenth century, and then, toward the end of the period, *uẹ́* [*oi*]: *negru* > *nẹ́ir* > *nuẹ́r* [*noir*]. ẹ́i + *u* (281) becomes ö: *pẹlos* (CL. *pĭlōs*) > *pẹ́ils* > *pös* [*peus*].

ọ́i

226. For provenience, cf. 74 ; 77.

227. ọ́i becomes *uẹ́* toward the end of the period (225): *nausịa* >

nǫise > *nuése* [*noise*].   For the development of the strong perfect
form *ǫi*, cf. 404.

<div align="center">*ǫi*</div>

228.   For provenience, cf. 68.

229.   *ǫi* becomes *ọi* by the thirteenth century, and then, toward the
end of the period, *ué* (225): *vǫce* > *vọiz* > *vués* [*vois*].

<div align="center">*üi*</div>

230.   For provenience, cf. 62 ; 72 ; 77.

231.   *üi* becomes *üi* during the twelfth century: *frųctu* > *früit* >
früit [*fruit*].

<div align="center">*áu*</div>

232.   For provenience, cf. 174.

233.   *áu* remains intact: *falsu* > *fáus* > *fáus*.

<div align="center">*ǫu*</div>

234.   For provenience, cf. 57 ; 75.

235.   *ǫu* becomes *ų* [*ou*] during the thirteenth century: *clavu* >
clǫu > *clų* [*clou*].

<div align="center">*ọu*</div>

236.   For provenience, cf. 64. 1 ; 69.

237.   *ọu* becomes *ö* [*eu*] by the thirteenth century : *onǫre* > *onọur*
> *onör* [*oneur*]; *ọu* + *ų* (281) becomes *ö* : *sǫlus* > *sǫuls* > *sös* [*seus*].

<div align="center">*óu*</div>

238.   For provenience, cf. 63.

239.   *óu* becomes *ö* [*eu*] during the thirteenth century : *jǫcu* > *jǫu*
> *fö* [*feu*].

<div align="center">*éu*</div>

240.   This diphthong exists only in words borrowed from Late
Latin (12); it corresponds to Late Latin *ēu* and *aeu* : Late Latin
Hebraeum = first period OF. *Hebréu*.

241. *ę́u* becomes *ö* [*eu*] during the thirteenth century: first period OF. *Hebrę́u* (240) > second period OF. *Hebrö* [*Hebreu*].

ię́

242. For provenience, cf. 46. 1 and 2 ; 52. 1.

243. During the first half of the period *ię́* becomes *ię́* (*fębre* > *fię́rre* > *fię́rre*); unless it comes to be final, in which case it remains *ię́* (*pęde* > *pię́t* > *pię́*—cf. 274); or unless it comes to stand after *tš*, *dž*, *l̦*, or *ń*, in which case it becomes *ę* toward the end of the thirteenth century, which then develops in accordance with 211 (*caru* > *tšię́r* [*chier*] > *chę́r* > *chę́r*). *ię́* + *u* (281) becomes *iö* [*ieu*]: *ę́glos* (CL. *caelōs*) > *cię́ls* > *ciö̈s* [*cieus*].

ué̦

244. For provenience, cf. 58. 1 and 2.

245. *ué̦* becomes *ö* [*eu*] during the thirteenth century: *nǫ́vu* > *nué̦f* > *nö́f* [*neuf*]. *ué̦* + *u* (281) becomes *ö*: *dǫlet* > *dué̦lt* > *dö́t* [*deut*].

ię́u

246. For provenience, cf. 51.

247. *ię́u* becomes *iö̈* [*ieu*] during the thirteenth century: *Dę́u* > *Dię́u* > *Diö̈* [*Dieu*].

çáu

248. This triphthong, though not an heritage from the first period, was formed so early in the second (213) that it is entitled to a place in this list of sounds existent ca. 1100. Toward the end of the second period it becomes *áu* [*eau*]: *bę́llus* > first period *bę́ls* > early second period *bę́áus* > *báus* [*beaus*].

Nasal Tonic Vowels and Diphthongs

249. Through almost all of the second period, vowels are nasal even before intervocal *n* or *m*, and nasal consonants are sounded after

the nasal vowels (178. Note). Toward the end of the period appear the beginnings of modern French usage in these two respects (276, 277, and 281½). For the sake of simplicity, however, **we shall omit further mention of these new developments.**

$\tilde{\imath}$

250. For provenience, cf. 37 ; 38 ; 40. 1 ; 43 ; 50. Toward the end of the period $\tilde{\imath}$ becomes $\tilde{e}$ and then $\tilde{\varrho}$ [i]: *pinu > pĩn > pẽn* [*pin*].

$\tilde{\varrho}$

251. For provenience, cf. 42. $\tilde{\varrho}$ remains intact : *degnat* (CL. *dignāt*) *> dẽ́net > dẽ́net* [*deignet*].

$\tilde{a}$

252. For provenience, cf. 40. 2 ; 42 ; 47. 2 ; 49 ; 53. 2 ; 55. $\tilde{a}$ remains intact (the orthography of $\tilde{a} < e$ + nasal, is *e* ; that of $\tilde{a} < a$ + nasal, is *a*): *templu > tãmple > tãmple* [*temple*] ; *amplu > ãmple > ãmple* [*ample*].

$\tilde{\varrho}$

253. For provenience, cf. 59. 2 ; 61 ; 65. 1 and 2 ; 67.

254. $\tilde{\varrho}$ becomes $\tilde{\varrho}$ toward the end of the period : *ponte > põnt > põnt*.

$\tilde{\tilde{u}}$

255. For provenience, cf. 71. $\tilde{\tilde{u}}$ remains intact : *unu > ũn > ũn*.

$\acute{\tilde{a}}i$

256. For provenience, cf. 53. 1 ; 56.

257. $\acute{\tilde{a}}i$ becomes $\acute{\tilde{\varrho}}i$ during the twelfth century, and then, toward the end of the period, $\tilde{\varrho}$ [ai] (258): *pane > pái͂n > pẽn* [*pain*].

$\acute{\tilde{\varrho}}i$

258. For provenience, cf. 40. 1 ; 44. $\acute{\tilde{\varrho}}i$ becomes $\tilde{\varrho}$ [ei] toward the end of the period : *plenu > plẽ́in > plẽn* [*plein*].

$$\overset{\prime}{\rho}i$$

259. For provenience, cf. 68.

260. $\overset{\prime}{\rho}i$ becomes $o\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}$ [oi] toward the end of the period : $p\varrho gnu >$
$p\overset{\prime}{\rho}i\acute{n} > po\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}n$ [$poing$].

$$\overset{\prime}{\ddot{u}}i$$

261. For provenience, cf. 72. $\overset{\prime}{\ddot{u}}i$ becomes $\ddot{u}\overset{\prime}{\tilde{i}}$ during the first half
of the period, and then, toward the end of the period, $\ddot{u}\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}$ [ui] : $jun\underset{.}{i}u$
$> j\overset{\prime}{\ddot{u}}i\acute{n} > j\ddot{u}\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}n$ [$juing$].

$$i\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}$$

262. For provenience, cf. 47. 1 and 2 ; 53. 1. $i\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}$ becomes $i\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}$ to-
ward the end of the period : $cane > chi\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}n > chi\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}n$.

$$u\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}$$

263. For provenience, cf. 59. 1. It happens that all of those
words which contained $u\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}$ ca. 1100, soon afterward substituted $\tilde{\varrho}$
through some syntactical or analogical influence—cf. 10–11 ; 291 ;
299 ; 347 : $\varrho mo > u\overset{\prime}{\tilde{e}}n > \tilde{\varrho}me$ (by analogy to $\tilde{\varrho}me < \acute{\varrho}mine$ — cf. 59.
2) ($> \tilde{\varrho}me$ — cf. 254).

Posttonic Vowels

264. There are no unstressed **penult** vowels in the second Old
French period—cf. 76.

265. In the **ultima** only ϱ is to be found unstressed—cf. 77 and
78. This ϱ remains intact : $terra > terr\varrho > terr\varrho$. But ϱ immediately
following a stressed vowel loses its syllabic value toward the end of
the second period : $vita >$ first period OF. $v\underset{.}{i}d\varrho >$ early second period
OF. $vi\text{-}\varrho > vi\varrho$ (that is, the two vowels i and ϱ join in a diphthong).

Pretonic Vowels and Diphthongs

a) Post-Secondary-Stress (80)

266. When standing between consonants, post-secondary-stress vowels usually remain unchanged : *àbellána* > *arẹlaine* > *arẹlaine*. But *ái* > *ẹ*, and *ẹ̈i* > *uẹ̈*.

267. When standing in hiatus with the tonic vowel, post-secondary-stress *ẹ* becomes silent toward the end of the second period : *àrmatúra* > *armẹdüre* > *armẹüre* > *armüre*.

268. Post-secondary-stress *ẹ* standing in hiatus with a preceding vowel is combined with it into a diphthong toward the end of the second period : *crị-* (stem of OF. *crịer*) + OF. suffix *-ẹrie* (12. Note) > first period OF. *crị-ẹrie* > second period OF. *crịẹrie*.

b) Initial-Syllable Pretonic

269. For provenience, cf. 81–102. Cf. also 79. Note.

270. Initial-syllable pretonic vowels or diphthongs standing before a consonant usually develop like the corresponding tonic vowels or diphthongs (208–263): *araru* > *aver* > *aver* (215); *dẹlicátu* > *dẹlgie* > *dögiet* [*deugiet*] (211). *ẹ* (84 and 87) remains intact : *vẹníre* > *vẹnir* > *vẹnir*.

Note. Initial-syllable pretonic *ẹ*, unlike tonic *ẹ* (211), remains close.

271. Initial-syllable pretonic vowels or diphthongs standing in hiatus with the following vowel usually develop like the corresponding tonic vowels or diphthongs (208–263), and retain meanwhile their syllabic value : **fịdare* > *fịder* > *fị-er* [*fier*] (209). But *ẹ* (84 and 87) becomes silent toward the end of the second period : **cadentia* > *chẹdance* > *chẹ-ance* > *chance*.

CONSONANTS

272. At the beginning of the second period Old French possessed the following consonants (cf. the table in 103):

	Oral Consonants					Nasal Consonants
	Mutes		Spirants		Liquids	
	Surds	Sonants	Surds	Sonants		
Labials	p	b	f	v		m
Dentals	t	d	$t, s, š$	$d, z, ž$	l, r	n
Palatals	k	g			l'	$\acute{n}, \eta$

Furthermore, the **aspirate,** h ; and the **semivowels,** i, u. Be it remarked that $š$ and $ž$ occur only in the combinations $tš$ ($= ch$ in English *church*) and $dž$ ($= j$ in English *jar*). For the provenience of all these consonants, cf. 103–206.

Following is a detailed presentation of consonant-development during the second period (for nasal consonants, cf. 249). The ever present extreme tendency toward contraction (1–4) shows itself in the still further disintegration (along the same lines as set forth in 103) of many consonants heretofore resistant, and in the complete disappearance of many heretofore partially successful in resistance.

In these sections on the second period consonants, we shall register only changes from the status quo of ca. 1100. Silence as to the development of a consonant under such and such conditions, will mean that under those conditions the consonant remained unchanged throughout the period.

Simple Consonants

a) When Intervocal

273. Intervocal d and t (116) disappear in the course of the twelfth century : *vita* > *vide* > *vie*.

b) When Final

274. Final *t* (116 and 124) disappears in the course of the twelfth century : *perdat* > *perdet* > *perde*.

275. Final *t* (117. 1 ; 122. 3 ; 124) and final *s* (126 ; 127 ; 131 ; 132) remain intact, except as explained in 277 : *tardu* > *tart* > *tart* ; *passu* > *pas* > *pas*.

276. Final *ń* (153. 2 ; 160 ; 203) becomes *n* toward the end of the second period. This *n* remains intact, except as explained in 277 : *coṇu* (CL. *cŭnĕŭm*) > *coiń* > *coin* [*coing*].

277. Toward the end of the second period final consonants (including *t*, *s*, and *n*—cf. 275, 276, 279) became silent when followed in connected speech by a word beginning with a consonant. Whereafter those words which already possessed two pronunciations (103. Note 2) possessed three : VL. *vivu* > first period OF. *vif* or *vir* [*vif*] > second period OF. *vif* before a pause ; *vir* [*rif*] before a vowel ; *vi* [*vif*] before a consonant. Cf. the Appendix.

Consonant Groups

278. *dr* (118) becomes *rr* at the very beginning of the second period, and *rr* then soon becomes *r* : *patre* > *pedre* > *pere*. Similarly *dl* (119) becomes *ll* and then *l* : *Rodlandu* > *Rodlant* > *Rolant*.

279. 1) *ts* (121 ; 123 ; 134 ; 135. 2 ; 137 ; 153. 2 ; 160 ; 181 ; 195 ; 198 ; 199 ; 203) becomes *s* (written *s* when final ; otherwise *c*) during the thirteenth century : *centu* > *tsent* > *sent* [*cent*]. When this *s* comes to be final, it shares the fate of other final consonants—cf. 277 : *noce* (CL. *nŭcĕm*) > *noíz* (135) > *nués* [*nois*], which then becomes, before a word beginning with a consonant, *nué* [*nois*].

2) *tš* (139 ; 142. 1 and 2 ; 143. 1 and 2 ; 148. 2 ; 192. 1) becomes *š* [*ch*] during the thirteenth century : *causa* > *tšose* > *šose* [*chose*].

3) *dž* (138; 141; 143. 2; 148. 2; 150; 153; 191) becomes *ž* (written *j* before *a*, *o*, *u* ; *g* before *e*, *i*) during the thirteenth century : *médicu* > *miedže* > *mieže* [*miege*].

280. Preconsonantal *s* (128 ; 130) becomes silent during the thirteenth century : *festa* > *feste* > *fete* [*feste*].

281. At the very beginning of the second period, *l* before a consonant becomes *u*, which then combines in some manner with the preceding vowel—cf. 209 ; 211 ; 213 ; 217 ; 219 ; 221 ; 225 ; 237 ; 243 ; 245. Cf. also 174 and 282.

Note. At the end of a word the orthography *x* is often a substitute for the orthography *us*, or for a final *s* immediately following a *u* : for instance, the second period result of VL. *follis* (217) is written either *fous* or *fox* or *foux*.

282. *l* (+ consonant) which comes from *l'* (+ consonant) (153. 2 ; 159 ; 200) develops exactly like the *l* treated in 281 : *veclus* > *riélz* (159) > *viös* [*vieus*] (243).

282½. Toward the end of the period *n* and *m* become silent when preceding a consonant : *planta* > *plãnte* > *plãte*. Cf. 249.

PART II

MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

DECLENSION

The Declension of Nouns in Vulgar Latin and during the First Old French Period

In sections 1–4 we emphasized the constant tendency of the grammatical forms of Vulgar Latin and Old French toward a more analytic condition. Throughout this chapter that tendency will be so evident as to excuse us from further insistence upon it.

283. 1) Even before the beginning of the first period of Old French, that is, before ca. 600, Vulgar Latin nouns originally neuter had become either masculine or feminine. First of all, nouns in -*um* (CL. 2d declension) became masculines in -*us*; then neuters such as *cornu* (CL. 4th declension), and finally such as *nomen* (CL. 3d declension), also became masculines.

2) A number of often used Vulgar Latin neuter plurals of collective signification, such as *folia* (meaning *foliage*), came to be looked upon, because of the ending -*a*, as feminine singulars, and assumed singular significations; thus VL. *folia* came to mean *leaf*, and was given a new plural, VL. *folias* (288).

5   69

284. Even before ca. 600 the number of Vulgar Latin declensions had been reduced to three. The VL. 1st declension consisted of feminines (this statement, and all our statements relating to the classification of nouns, are approximate): these corresponded to the feminines of the CL. 1st declension, to the CL. 2d declension neuter plurals discussed in the preceding section, and to the feminines of the CL. 4th and 5th declensions (for example, VL. *nora* corresponds to CL. *nurus,* and VL. *facia* corresponds to CL. *facies*). The VL. 2d declension consisted of masculines : they corresponded to the masculines and neuters of the CL. 2d and 4th declensions (283. 1). The VL. 3d declension consisted of masculines and feminines corresponding to the masculines and neuters (283. 1), and to the feminines, of the CL. 3d declension.

285. Old French received from Vulgar Latin, and retained, two numbers, the singular and the plural.

286. 1) Even before ca. 600, the cases had already been reduced to two, the nominative and the accusative. The functions of the other cases had been either transferred to these two (for instance, the accusatives of nouns signifying persons could be used to denote possession : cf. OF. *li rei gonfanoniers = the standard-bearer of the King*), or expressed by prepositions.

2) A few remnants of other Latin cases than the nominative and the accusative are found, in stereotyped phrases, even as late as ca. 1100 (*gent paienour < gentem paganorum*).

287. The endings of the nominative and accusative cases underwent several changes during the Vulgar Latin period and the first Old French period. Since in this development gender played an important part, we shall discuss separately feminines and masculines. Indeed, we shall find that by ca. 1100 the VL. three-declension system (284) had been superseded by a six-declension system—three declensions of feminines and three of masculines.

288. Feminines, Class I) To this class belong those feminines which by ca. 1100 have come to end, in the nominative singular, in -ę : in other terms, those feminines which had constituted the VL.

1st declension (284).   Following is the paradigm (in order to show clearly the difference between the various declensions, we divide each Old French form into a stem and an ending):

		CL.		VL.		OF. ca. 1100
Sing.	Nom.	fīlĭă	=	fĭlĭa	>	fill ę
	Acc.	fīlĭăm	=	fĭlĭa	>	fill ę
Plu.	Nom.	fīlĭae	=	fĭlĭas	>	fill ęs
	Acc.	fīlĭās	=	fĭlĭas	>	fill ęs

Notice that in VL. these nouns had become flectionless in the singular because of the fall of final -m of the accusative (21–28), and had then added an -s in the nominative plural through a desire to make the plural likewise flectionless (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11).

Feminines, Class II) To this class belong those feminines which by ca. 1100 have come to end, in the nominative singular, in any sound other than ę (except those in Class III): in other terms, those VL. 3d declension feminines (284) which were not at the same time imparisyllabic and of personal signification (cf. the explanation of Class III). But cf. 290.

vĭrtūs	=	vertúte	>	vertut
vĭrtūtĕm	=	vertúte	>	vertut
vĭrtūtēs	=	vertútes	>	vertut s [vertuz—cf. 121]
vĭrtūtēs	=	vertútes	>	vertut s

Notice that for nouns of this class VL. had already done away with any differences between the nominative singular and the accusative singular; this was through analogy to the non-differentiated plural forms (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11).

Feminines, Class III) To this class belong a few feminines which have developed into essentially different forms in the nominative singular and the accusative singular: in other terms, those VL. 3d declension imparisyllabic feminines which signified persons.

sŏrŏr	=	*sṓror*	>	*suḗr*
sŏrōrĕm	=	*sorṓre*	>	*serṓur*
sŏrōrēs	=	*sorṓres*	>	*serṓur s*
sŏrōrēs	=	*sorṓres*	>	*serṓur s*

Notice that for these nouns VL. had not effaced the difference between
the nominative singular and the accusative singular, as it had done for
the other feminines of its 3d declension (cf. the explanation of Class
II). This was doubtless because nouns signifying persons were often
used in the vocative, whose form was in VL. always equivalent to that
of the nominative ; these nominatives and vocatives were together
numerous enough to counteract the analogical tendency which affected
other nouns.

Note. The forms *serour* and *serours* are irregular as to the development of
their pretonic vowel ; we would expect *u*, not *ę* (91).

289. Masculines, Class I) To this class belong those mascu-
lines which by ca. 1100 have come to end in -*s* in the nominative
singular : in other terms, those masculines which constituted the VL.
2d declension (284), excepting those in -*er* (cf. Class II); and the
VL. 3d declension masculines, excepting imparisyllabic masculines of
personal significance (cf. Class III). But cf. 290. This class may
be divided further into two sub-classes, according as the OF. nomina-
tive singular ends in -*s* or -*ęs*. The paradigm of **sub-class a** is :

mūrŭs	=	*mū́rus*	>	*mur s*
mūrŭm	==	*mū́ru*	>	*mur*
mūrī	=	*mū́ri*	>	*mur*
mūrōs	=	*mū́ros*	>	*mur s*

Sub-class b :

ăsĭnŭs	=	*ásinus*	>	*asn ęs* (78. 3)
ăsĭnŭm	=	*ásinu*	>	*asn ę*
ăsĭnī	=	*ásini*	>	*asn ę*
ăsĭnōs	==	*ásinos*	>	*asn ęs*

Masculines, Class II) To this class belong those masculines which by ca. 1100 have come to end in -*ę* in the nominative singular : in other terms, those VL. 2d and 3d declension masculines ending in -*er*.

pătĕr	=	*páter*	> *pedr ę* (78. 3)
pătrĕm	=	*pátre*	> *pedr ę*
pătrēs	=	*pátri*	> *pedr ę*
pătrēs	=	*pátres*	> *pedr ęs*

Notice that the VL. 3d declension nominative plural had adopted the ending -*i* through analogy to nouns like *murus* (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11).

Masculines, Class III) To this class belong those masculines which have developed into essentially different forms in the nominative singular and the accusative singular : in other terms, those VL. 3d declension imparisyllabic masculines of personal signification (cf. Feminines, Class III).

hŏmō	=	*ǫmo*	> *uen*
hŏmĭnĕm	=	*ǫmine*	> *ome*
hŏmĭnēs	=	*ǫmini*	> *ome*
hŏmĭnēs	=	*ǫmines*	> *ome s*

290. Indeclinables. Feminines, Class II, or Masculines, Class I. a, whose stems end in a sibilant, are indeclinable.

nāsŭs	=	*násus*	> *nes* (127)
nāsŭm	=	*násu*	> *nes*
nāsī	=	*nási*	> *nes*
nāsŏs	=	*nāsos*	> *nes*

The Declension of Nouns during the Second Old French Period

291. During the second period two exactly contrary analogical tendencies (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11) were shown by

declension.   One was to differentiate nominatives from accusatives in
accordance with the type *murs—mur*; the other, to do away with such
differentiation.   The latter tendency won a complete victory toward
the end of the period, partly because flectional *-s* had become silent
before words beginning with a consonant (277), partly because accu-
satives were used more often than nominatives.   **The paradigms of
the following sections are OF. forms of ca. 1100 ; after each
paradigm stands a discussion of its development during the
second period.**

Feminines

292. For the provenience of the three feminine classes, cf. 288.

293.   **Class I**

Sing. $\begin{cases} \text{Nom.} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{cases}$ *fill* ę   Plu. $\begin{cases} \text{Nom.} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{cases}$ *fill* ęs
            fill ę   *fill* ęs

These nouns remained unchanged throughout the second period.

294.   **Class II**

        vertut   *vertut s* [*vertuz*]
        vertut   *vertut s*

About the middle of the twelfth century these nouns add *-s* to the
nominative singular, from analogy with the inflection of masculines.
During the thirteenth century, however, they again (like the mascu-
lines, as we shall see in 297 ff.) lose this *-s*.

295.   **Class III**

        suer   *serour s*
        serour   *serour s*

The nouns of this class showed great diversity of development, not
only as to the addition of *-s* to the nominative singular (294), but also

as to which stem, that of the nominative singular, or that of the
accusative singular, should triumph.   In some cases the nominative
won the victory (as in the above word, whose accusative became *suer*,
and whose plural, both nominative and accusative, became *suers*) ; in
others the accusative ; in yet others both stems survived side by side.
Cf. 299.

Masculines

296. For the provenience of the three masculine classes, cf. 289.

297.   **Class I**

a

mur s	*mur*
mur	*mur s*

b

asn es	*asn e*
asn e	*asn es*

In the thirteenth century these nouns began to change their nomina-
tives, both singular and plural, to agree with the accusatives.

298.   **Class II**

pedr e	*pedr e*
pedr e	*pedr es*

These nouns show for a time a tendency to add an analogical -*s* to the
nominative singular.   During the thirteenth century, however, they
succumb to the process stated in 297 ; the singular is in both forms
without -*s* ; the plural is in both forms with -*s*.

299.   **Class III**

uen	*ome*
ome	*ome s*

During the thirteenth century these nouns add -*s* to the nominative
plural. But they show great variety of development as to the tempo-
rary analogical adoption of -*s* in the nominative singular, and as to
the final triumph of the nominative singular stem or the accusative
singular stem. The development of *uen* is an excellent example of
the complexity which marks nouns of this class : *uen* soon gives way
to *on* through analogy with the accusative singular (263); contempo-
raneously with nominative singular *on* arises nominative singular *om*,
in which a still further analogy to the accusative singular is evident ;
at the same time arises nominative singular *ome*, in which we have
complete surrender to the accusative singular. Meanwhile the nomi-
native singulars *ons*, *oms*, and *omes* are also common. Of all these
forms *ome* proves the strongest ; toward the end of the period it is
practically the sole survivor in the substantive use of the word (297),
on surviving as an indefinite pronoun.

300. During the first and second periods stems often underwent
changes because of the addition of flectional -*s*. For instance, in the
declension of the following word the various stem-forms are due to the
different phonological development of *n* under different conditions
(188 and 189. 1):

VL.		OF.
córnus	>	*cor s*
córnu	>	*corn*
córni	>	*corn*
córnos	>	*cor s*

By the end of the second period the language had taken, in regard to
these double-formed stems, one of three courses. (**1**) The form
affected by -*s* had been generalized. Toward the end of the second
period the above paradigm had become :

cor
cor
cor s
cor s

(2) The form not influenced by -s had been generalized. For example, instead of first period nominative singular *cles* < *cláris* (111), we find in the second period, from analogy with the accusative singular *clef* < *clávem* (106), the nominative singular *clefs*, which finally became, by the process stated in 297, *clef*. The noun was finally declined thus :

<blockquote>
clef
clef
clef s
clef s
</blockquote>

Of course the *f* of *clefs* soón became merely orthographic (111). (3) In a few words both stem-forms are retained.   For instance :

VL.   First OF. period   Second OF. period
cabállus > *chevau s* (174) > *cheval* (from analogy with acc. sing.)
cabállu > *cheval* (173)   > *cheval*
cabálli > *cheval* (173)   > *chevau s* (from analogy with acc. pl.)
cabállos > *chevau s* (174) > *chevau s*

Declension of Adjectives

301. In Vulgar Latin and in Old French, adjectives had three genders : masculine, feminine, and neuter. But in Old French the neuter was used only in the singular, and only as a predicate adjective referring to an expressed or understood neuter pronoun.

302. In VL. the adjectives fall, as in CL., into two classes : (1) adjectives of the first and second declensions ; (2) adjectives of the third declension. But during the VL. period and the first OF. period, adjective forms underwent changes similar to those of nouns. (1) The VL. feminine forms in -*a* developed like nouns in -*a* (288. I). (2) The VL. masculine forms in -*us* developed like nouns in -*us* (289. I). (3) Originally the VL. 3d declension adjectives were declined exactly alike in the masculine and in the feminine (as in CL.), but during the VL. period and the first OF. period these

adjectives, from analogy with the corresponding substantives, developed differing masculine and feminine forms for the nominative case of both numbers. The feminine nominative singular took the form of the accusative (early VL. *grandis, amans* > later VL. *grande, amante* ; cf. 288. II). The masculine nominative singular took the form of the accusative, and added *-s* (early VL. *grandis, amans* > later VL. *grandes, amantes* ; cf. 289. I). The feminine nominative plural retained the form in *-es* (VL. *grandes, amantes* ; cf. 288. II). The masculine nominative plural substituted the ending *-i* for *-es* (early VL. *grandes, amantes* > later VL. *grandi, amanti* ; cf. 289. II).

303. The above changes having taken place before ca. 1100, adjectives of the second OF. period may be divided into two classes according to the ending of the feminine nominative singular : Class I —those adjectives with feminine nominative singular in *-ę* ; Class II —those with feminine nominative singular ending in a consonant. Class I may be further divided into three sub-classes corresponding to Masculines, Class I. a, and b, and Masculines, Class II (289. I and II). Following are the paradigms of these classes (the first column being always VL., the second being OF. of ca. 1100):

Class I

a

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Sing. {	N. *clárus* > *cler s*	*clára* > *cler ę*	*cláru* > *cler*
	A. *cláru* > *cler*	*clára* > *cler ę*	
Plu. {	N. *clári* > *cler*	*cláras* > *cler ęs*	
	A. *cláros* > *cler s*	*cláras* > *cler ęs*	

b

tępidus > *tied ęs*	*tępida* > *tied ę*	*tępidu* > *tied ę*
tępidu > *tied ę*	*tępida* > *tied ę*	
tępidi > *tied ę*	*tępidas* > *tied ęs*	
tępidos > *tied ęs*	*tępidas* > *tied ęs*	

c

téner	> tendr ę	ténera	> tendr ę	téneru > tendr ę
téneru	> tendr ę	ténera	> tendr ę	
téneri	> tendr ę	téneras	> tendr ęs	
téneros	> tendr ęs	téneras	> tendr ęs	

Class II

amántes	> amant s [amanz]	amánte > amant	amánte > amant
amánte	> amant	amánte > amant	
amánti	> amant	amántes > amant s	
amántes	> amant s	amántes > amant s	

For the declension of flectional comparatives, cf. 309.

304. During the second OF. period the forms of the adjectives show the same analogical tendencies which we have noticed in nouns. For instance, the adjectives of Class I. c add and then lose -s in the masculine nominative singular (298).

305. As was true of nouns (300), the stems of the adjectives often underwent changes because of the addition of flectional -s; furthermore, adjective-stems also generated differences because of VL. differences in the masculine and feminine endings. During the second OF. period the language treated these differences as it treated differences in noun-stems (300). The following paradigm shows three stem-forms during the first period, two during the second (for the different developments of r, cf. 106 and 111):

vívus > vi s > vif	víva > vir ę > viv ę	vívu > vif > vif
vívu > vif > rif	víra > viv ę > viv ę	
vívi > vif > vif s	víras > vir ęs > viv ęs	
vívos > vi s > vif s	víras > vir ęs > vir ęs	

Of course the _j_ of _vifs_ soon became merely orthographic (111).

306. During the second OF. period we find many forms which, considered in the light of the above paradigms, are irregular, the

irregularities being generally due to analogical tendencies.   For
example, we find, side by side with the feminine nominative singular
grant, a feminine nominative singular *grande*, made after the pattern
of such feminine nominative singulars as *clere*.   Indeed, by the end
of the second period almost all adjectives had been attracted by anal-
ogy into Class I. a, or Class I. b, according as they ended, in the
masculine accusative singular, in a consonant or in -*ę*.   Since Class I
had meanwhile lost the -*s* of the masculine nominative singular, and
had added -*s* in the masculine nominative plural (297); since further-
more neuter forms, now that masculine nominative singular -*s* had
been dropped, could not be distinguished from masculine forms ; we
may say that, ca. 1515, French adjectives were practically what they
are to-day.

Comparison of Adjectives

307. Classical Latin used flectional means to express comparison ;
Vulgar Latin showed an ever greater preference for paraphrases
formed by prefixing adverbs to the adjectives.   As a result, Old
French regularly expressed the comparative by prefixing the adverb
plus ($<$ VL. *plus*) to the positive of the adjective ; and the superla-
tive by prefixing the definite article to the comparative formed with
plus.

308. A few VL. flectional comparatives withstood this tendency,
and developed into OF. words : for example, VL. *máyor* $>$ OF.
máirę (cf. 56 ; 78.3 ; and 151).

309. These flectional comparatives developed along the same lines
as Masculines, Class III (289 and 299) and Feminines, Class III (288
and 295).   The following paradigm presents the VL. forms and those
of OF. of ca. 1100 :

máyor $>$ *maire*	*máyor* $>$ *maire*	*máyus* $>$ *mais*
mayóre $>$ *maiour*	*mayóre* $>$ *maiour*	
mayóri $>$ *maiour*	*mayóres* $>$ *maiour s*	
mayóres $>$ *maiour s*	*mayóres* $>$ *maiour s*	

In regard to the second period development of these adjectives, cf. 295 ; 299 ; 305 ; 306.

310. A very few flectional superlatives developed into OF. words, but generally assumed meanwhile positive signification. VL. *péssimus* > OF. *pesmes* == *bad* (declined like *tiedes*—cf. 303).

Formation of Adverbs

311-313. In Vulgar Latin, though a few adverbs corresponded to Classical Latin forms (for example, VL. *béne*, which became OF. *bien*), most were new formations, composed of an adjective agreeing with the ablative *mente (mens)*: for example, VL. *malamente* instead of CL. *male*. These VL. compounds developed phonologically into OF. adverbs : *màlaménte* > *malęment* (80. 1).

Numerals

314-319. The ordinals were all declined in Class I. a, or b, of adjectives (303). The cardinals were in general indeclinable. But *ũns* was declined like an adjective of Class I. a ; *tréi*, *vĩnt*, and *tsãnt* [*cent*] like adjectives of Class II (303). *Dũi*, whose forms were quite irregular in their development from VL., was declined as follows :

		First period		Second period
Masc.	Nom.	*dũi*	>	*deus* (from analogy with acc.)
	Acc.	*dóus*	>	*deus* (237)
Fem.	Nom.	*dóus*	>	*deus*
	Acc.	*dóus*	>	*deus*

Pronouns and Pronominal Adjectives

320. Pronouns show a greater abundance of flectional forms than nouns, inasmuch as (1) position in the sentence (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11) often gave rise to double development ; (2) neuter forms were often retained : (3) some dative forms, and, with functional change, some genitive plurals, were retained.

In the following paradigms first columns are VL. forms, second columns are OF. forms of ca. 1100. To each paradigm is added a brief account of development during the second period.

No attempt will be made to explain **fully** the origin of the VL. forms, nor even their development into OF. forms. To do so would necessitate discussion of too many difficult problems.

Personal Pronouns

321.

		1st person		2d person	
		Stressed	**Unstressed**	**Stressed**	**Unstressed**
Sing.	Nom.	$eǫ́ > džú[jo]$	$eǫ́ > džę́[je]$	$tu̧ > tü$	$tu̧ > tü$
	Dat. Acc.	$mę > mę́i$	$mę > mę$	$tę > tę́i$	$tę > tę$
Plu.	Nom.	$nǫs > nu̧s[66]$	$nǫs > nu̧s$	$vǫs > vu̧s$	$vǫs > vu̧s$
	Dat. Acc.	$nǫs > nu̧s$	$nǫs > nu̧s$	$vǫs > vu̧s$	$vǫs > vu̧s$

During the second period the unstressed forms remained unchanged. Except *džę*, which became *žę* (279. 3). Of the stressed forms, the nominatives *jo* and *tu* were gradually superseded by the accusatives *moi* and *toi* (for *oi* in these forms, cf. 225).

322. ## 3d person

Stressed forms

		Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
Sing.	Nom.	$élli̧$	$> i̧l$	$élla$	$> ĕlę$	$éllu̧ > ĕl$	
	Dat. Acc.	$elláï$	$> lűï$	$elléi$	$> li̧$		
Plu.	Nom.	$élli̧$	$> i̧l$	$éllas$	$> ĕlęs$		
	Dat.	$ellóru̧$	$> lóur$	$ellóru̧$	$> lóur$		
	Acc.	$éllos$	$> ĕls$	$éllas$	$> ĕlęs$		

These VL. forms correspond in general to the forms of CL. *illĕ* (for change of *i* to *ę*, cf. 16–20), though there is much evidence of analogical change (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11): for example, VL. *élli* and *ellúi* are due to analogy with the interrogative pronoun forms *qui* and *cúi*. Notice the VL. use of *elloru* (CL. *illōrŭm*) as a dative. By the end of the second period the same tendency which affected nouns—that is, to make the cases of the singular alike, and the cases of the plural alike—had resulted in the following forms :

Sing. $\begin{cases} \text{Nom.} & \textit{lüi} \;\; (231) \\ \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{cases}$ $\textit{lüi}$ $\begin{matrix} \textit{ęlę} \;\; (211) \\ \\ \textit{ęlę} \end{matrix}$ (The neuter had by this time disappeared.)

Plu. $\begin{cases} \text{Nom.} & \textit{eus} \;\; (211) \\ \text{Dat.} & \textit{leur} \;\; (237) \\ \text{Acc.} & \textit{eus} \end{cases}$ $\begin{matrix} \textit{ęlęs} \\ \textit{leur} \\ \textit{ęlęs} \end{matrix}$

323.   **Unstressed forms**

		Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
Sing.	Nom.	*élli*	> *il*	*élla*	> *ęlę*	*éllu* > *el*	
	Dat.	*elli*	> *li*	*elli*	> *li*		
	Acc.	*elló*	> $\begin{cases} \textit{lu} \; [\textit{lo}] \\ \textit{lę} \end{cases}$	*ellá*	> *la*	*elló* > $\begin{cases} \textit{lu} \; [\textit{lo}] \\ \textit{lę} \end{cases}$	
Plu.	Nom.	*élli*	> *il*	*éllas*	> *ęlęs*		
	Dat.	*ellóru* >	*lur* [95]	*ellóru* > *lur*			
	Acc.	*ellós* >	*lęs*	*ellás*	> *lęs*		

During the second period the neuter passed from usage. The form *lo* also died out. The forms *li* and *lur* were replaced by the stressed forms *lui* and *leur* (322).

324. The VL. 3d person reflexive pronoun *sę* became *séi* (but cf. 225) when stressed, *sę* when unstressed (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11.)

325. 1) When an unstressed personal pronoun ending in a vowel

immediately preceded a word beginning with a vowel, the pronoun generally lost its vowel: for example, *il m'aime*.

2) When an unstressed *me, te, se, lo, le,* or *les* immediately followed a word ending in a vowel, the pronoun was generally shortened in some manner: *ne m'*; *purquei t'*; *ne's* (= *ne les*). This process was very common in the first period, but had passed out of usage by the end of the second.

Possessives of the Singular

326.   Stressed forms

			1st person	2d person	3d person
Masc.	Sg.	Nom.	*méns > miéns*	*tóns > tuéns*	*sóns > suéns*
		Acc.	*méum > mién*	*tóum > tuén*	*sóum > suén*
	Pl.	Nom.	*méi > mién*	*tói > tuén*	*sói > suén*
		Acc.	*méos > miéns*	*tóos > tuéns*	*sóos > suéns*
Fem.	Sg.	Nom. } Acc. }	*méa > miéę*	*tóa > tóuę*	*sóa > sóuę*
	Pl.	Nom. } Acc. }	*méas > miéęs*	*tóas > tóuęs*	*sóas > sóuęs*
Neu. (301)			*méum > mién*	*tóum > tuén*	*sóum > snén*

Of these OF. masculine forms only the accusative singulars were normally derived from VL. forms; the others were entirely analogical —made out of whole cloth, as it were, with the OF. accusative singulars as patterns (cf. the second paragraph of 10–11). During the second OF. period the masculine forms develop along the same lines as do Masculines, Class I. a (297). But during the thirteenth century arise the forms *tien, sien,* etc., from analogy with *mien,* etc. *Meie* becomes *moie* (225), and then arise, by analogy, *toie, soie,* etc. But toward the end of the period we also find *miene, tiene, siene,* etc., from analogy with the masculine forms. Cf. also 262.

327.   ### Unstressed forms

			1st person	2d person	3d person

Masc.	Sg.	Nom.	$m\rho s$ > $m\varrho s$	$t\rho s$ > $t\varrho s$	$s\rho s$ > $s\varrho s$
		Acc.	$m\rho m$ > $m\tilde{\rho}n$	$t\rho m$ > $t\tilde{\rho}n$	$s\rho m$ > $s\tilde{\rho}n$
	Pl.	Nom.	$m\underset{.}{i}$ > $m\underset{.}{i}$	$t\underset{.}{i}$ > $t\underset{.}{i}$	$s\underset{.}{i}$ > $s\underset{.}{i}$
		Acc.	$m\rho s$ > $m\varrho s$	$t\rho s$ > $t\varrho s$	$s\rho s$ > $s\varrho s$
Fem.	Sg.	Nom. Acc.	ma > ma	ta > ta	sa > sa
	Pl.	Nom. Acc.	mas > $m\varrho s$	tas > $t\varrho s$	sas > $s\varrho s$

These VL. forms are hardly recognizable from the view-point of CL.
Lightly stressed VL. possessives seem to have shifted what stress they
did have to their last syllables (cf. 333), and the penultimate vowels
then fell : early VL. $m\acute{e}\underset{.}{u}s$ > $me\underset{.}{u}s$ > $m\underset{.}{u}s$ > late VL. $m\rho s$ (16–20).
During the second OF. period the above nominatives were supplanted
by the accusatives. Otherwise there was no change, save that $m\tilde{\rho}n$,
etc., became $m\tilde{\varrho}n$, etc. (270 and 254).

Possessives of the Plural

328.   ### Stressed forms

			1st person	2d person	3d person
Masc.	Sg.	Nom.	$n\acute{\rho}ster$ > $n\varrho str\varrho$	$v\acute{\rho}ster$ > $v\varrho str\varrho$	$ell\acute{\rho}ru$ > $l\acute{\rho}ur$
		Acc.	$n\acute{\rho}stru$ > $n\varrho str\varrho$	$v\acute{\rho}stru$ > $v\varrho str\varrho$	" " "
	Pl.	Nom.	$n\acute{\rho}stri$ > $n\varrho str\varrho$	$v\acute{\rho}stri$ > $v\varrho str\varrho$	" " "
		Acc.	$n\acute{\rho}stros$ > $n\varrho str\varrho s$	$v\acute{\rho}stros$ > $v\varrho str\varrho s$	" " "
Fem.	Sg.	Nom. Acc.	$n\acute{\rho}stra$ > $n\varrho str\varrho$	$v\acute{\rho}stra$ > $v\varrho str\varrho$	" " "
	Pl.	Nom. Acc.	$n\acute{\rho}stras$ > $n\varrho str\varrho s$	$v\acute{\rho}stras$ > $v\varrho str\varrho s$	" " "

6

During the second period *nostre* and *vostre* show the same tendencies as adjectives of Class I. c (303 and 304). In accordance with 237, *lour* becomes *leur* ; it also adds *-s* to its plural forms. Cf. also 280.

329. ## Unstressed forms

			1st person	2d person	3d person
Masc.	Sg.	Nom.	*nóster > nostre*	*vóster > vostre*	*ellóru > lur* [95]
		Acc.	*nóstru > nostre*	*vóstru > vostre*	" " "
	Pl.	Nom.	*nóstri > nostre*	*vóstri > vostre*	" " "
		Acc.	*nóstros > nots* [noz]	*vóstros > vots*	" " "
Fem.	Sg.	Nom. Acc.	*nóstra > nostre*	*vóstra > vostre*	" " "
	Pl.	Nom. Acc.	*nóstras > nots*	*vóstras > vots*	" " "

Notice that VL. *nóstros*, when stressed, gave, by normal phonological development, *nostres* ; when not stressed, the strongly contracted form *noz* (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11). During the second period *lur* was supplanted by the stressed forms *leur* and *leurs* (328). Cf. the similar substitution in 323. Cf. also 279. 1 ; and 280.

Demonstratives

330. ## *icil* and *cil*

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Sing.	Nom.	*eccélli > icil*	*eccélla > icéle*	*eccéllu > icél*
	Acc.	*eccellúi > icelúi*	*eccelléi > iceli*	*eccéllu > icél*
		eccéllu > icél	*eccélla > icéle*	
Plu.	Nom.	*eccélli > icil*	*eccéllas > icéles*	
	Acc.	*eccéllos > icéls*	*eccéllas > icéles*	

From the earliest to the latest OF. documents we find the abbreviated forms *cil*, *cele*, etc., side by side with *icil*, *icele*, etc.

The VL. forms given above are compounds of VL. *ęcce* and the forms of VL. *ęlli* (322). During the second OF. period *icel* and *iceli* passed from usage, leaving *icelui* and *icele* (which had become *icęlę*— cf. 211) as sole accusative singulars. In the thirteenth century the nominatives *icil* added an analogical -*s*, but these new forms were soon supplanted by the accusatives *icelui* and *iceus* (*icels* had become *iceus* —cf. 211). The *c* of the above OF. forms was pronounced *ts* (137); for its pronunciation during the second period, cf. 279. 1.

331. *icist* and *cist*

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Sing.	Nom.	*ęccę́sti > icist*	*ęccę́sta > icę̆stę*	*ęccę́stu > icę̆st*
	Acc.	*ęccęstúi > icęstúi* *ęccę́stu > icę̆st*	*ęccęstę́i > icę̨sti* *ęccę́sta > icę̆stę*	*ęccę́stu > icę̆st*
Plu.	Nom.	*ęccę́sti > icist*	*ęccę́stas > icę̆ts* [*icez*]	
	Acc.	*ęccę́stos > icę̆ts*	*ęccę́stas > icę̆ts*	

Cist exists side by side with *icist* (cf. *cil*, 330).

The above VL. forms are compounds of VL. *ęcce* and VL. *ęsti* (CL. *iste*). During the second period this pronoun developed exactly as did *icil* (330). Cf. also 279. 1, and 280.

332. *ico* and *co*

VL. *ęccę́c* (CL. *ęccę̆ + hŏc*) becomes the OF. neuter singular demonstrative pronoun *itsu* [*ico*]. The abbreviated form *co* is also common (cf. *cil* and *cist*, 330 and 331). Early in the second period *ico*, owing to its unstressed nature, is weakened to *cę*. Cf. also 279. 1.

The Definite Article

333.　　　　　　　　　Masculine　　　　　　　Feminine

$$\text{Sing.}\begin{cases}\text{Nom.} & \text{\textit{ęllį}} > \text{\textit{lį}} \\ \text{Acc.} & \text{\textit{ęllǫ}} > \begin{cases} \text{\textit{lu}} \ [\textit{lo}] \\ \text{\textit{lę}} \end{cases}\end{cases}\qquad \begin{matrix}\text{\textit{ęllá}} > \textit{la} \\ \text{\textit{ęllá}} > \textit{la}\end{matrix}$$

$$\text{Plu.}\begin{cases}\text{Nom.} & \text{\textit{ęllį}} > \textit{lį} \\ \text{Acc.} & \text{\textit{ęllǫ́s}} > \textit{lęs}\end{cases}\qquad \begin{matrix}\text{\textit{ęllás}} > \textit{lęs} \\ \text{\textit{ęllás}} > \textit{lęs}\end{matrix}$$

Notice that the VL. forms are the same as those of the VL. personal pronoun *ęllį*, except that what little stress there is has been shifted to the last syllable in every form, a tendency characteristic of slightly stressed words (cf. those of 327). With certain prepositions the article was contracted : for example, *a + le* became *al* (which then, before words beginning with a consonant, became *au*—cf. 174). Before words beginning with a vowel, *lo, le,* and *la* elided their vowel ; nom. sing. *li* might or might not do so ; nom. pl. *li* never did so. By ca. 1515 the accusative forms had supplanted the nominative forms ; and *lo* had passed out of usage.

Relatives and Interrogatives

334.　　　　　　　　　*qui* (relative)

		Masculine and Feminine	Neuter	
			Stressed	Unstressed
Sing.	Nom.	*kwį* > *kį* [*qui*]	*kwęd* > *kę́iṭ* [*queid*]	*kwęd* > *kę* [*que*]
	Dat.	*cų́i* > { Dat. / Acc. } *cǘi*		
	Acc.	*kwę* > *kę* [*que*]	*kwęd* > *kę́iṭ*	*kwęd* > *kę*
Plu.	Nom.	*kwį* > *kį*		
	Dat.	*cų́i* > { Dat. / Acc. } *cǘi*		
	Acc.	*kwę* > *kę*		

The genitive case of the relative is expressed by *dǫnt* < VL. *dǫ́nde* (CL. *dē ǔnde*). Cf. also 254.

qui (interrogative)

	Masculine and Feminine		Neuter	
			Stressed	Unstressed
Sing.	Nom. *kwi* >	*ki̧*	*kwęd* > *kę́iţ*	*kwęd* > *kę̧*
	Dat. *cų́i* > { Dat. / Acc. } *cǔi*	(Acc.) *kwęd* > *kę́iţ*	*kwęd* > *kę̧*
Plu.	Nom. *kwi̧* >	*ki̧*		
	Dat. *cų́i* > { Dat. / Acc. } *cǔi*		

In regard to the *kw* of the VL. forms given above, cf. the remark preceding 154. During the second OF. period *cui* was replaced by *qui*. In regard to the second period development of *kę́iţ*, cf. 225 and 274.

335. **quels**

VL. *kwális* becomes *kẹ́ls* [*quels*], which is declined like, and develops like, adjectives of Class II (303). Cf. also 211.

Indefinites

336. Almost all the indefinite pronouns and pronominal adjectives are declined like, and develop like, the adjective paradigms (303). For example, *nǔls* (< *nų́llus*) falls into Class I. a of adjectives ; *tẹ́ls* (< *tális*), into Class II.

CHAPTER II

CONJUGATION

Conjugation in Vulgar Latin and during the First Old French Period

> Throughout our presentation of the verbs phonetic symbols and diacritic marks are used only when their absence would be apt to leave the student in doubt as to the pronunciation. This principle is extremely subjective in nature, but phonetic transcription of every verb-form might retard students in the acquirement of ability to identify the verb-forms of texts and manuscripts. Only two letters, *t* and *d*, are invariably represented phonetically : if they are not transcribed as *t*, *d*, it may be understood that they are pronounced *t*, *d* (13–14).

337. That analytic tendency of Vulgar Latin, which in declension led to the substitution of prepositional phrases for certain of the cases (cf. remark immediately before 283), showed itself also in the inflection of verbs. The most important differences between Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin conjugation were as follows :

    1) Instead of the CL. passive, VL. used combinations of the past participle and the VL. verb **éssere* (VL. *amatus sum* instead of CL. *amor*).

    2) As to active forms :

a) In early VL., as in CL., the perfect indicative had two uses : to express completed action as an occurrence now completed (the ' past indefinite ' of modern French grammars), or to express completed action as a simple occurrence, without further limitation (that is, the ' aoristic ' use). In the aoristic use late VL. retained forms corresponding to the CL. perfect (and we will therefore call this VL.—OF. tense the ' perfect '), but in the past indefinite use began to prefer combinations of *habere* (or **essere*) and the past participle (VL. *amatum habeo* instead of CL. *amavi*). Similar combinations were used for the pluperfect indicative.

b) Instead of the CL. future, VL. used a combination of the infinitive with the present indicative of *habere* (instead of CL. *amabo*, VL. *amare habeo*). A new tense, the conditional, was formed by combining the infinitive with the imperfect indicative of *habere*.

c) The functions of the CL. imperfect subjunctive and perfect subjunctive were assumed in VL. by the pluperfect subjunctive (VL. *amassem*—corresponding to CL. *amavissem*—instead of CL. *amarem* and *amaverim*).

d) Instead of the CL. second plural imperative, VL. used the second plural present indicative (VL. *amatis* instead of CL. *amate*). Furthermore, VL. used the first plural present indicative as a first plural imperative (VL. *amamus = let us love*).

338. Grammarians often divide verbs into two classes – ' weak ' and ' strong.' A weak verb is one whose perfect has no stem-stressed forms : a strong verb is one whose perfect first and third singular and third plural are stressed on the stem. For various reasons it is convenient to classify VL.—OF. verbs by this system (in the following classification be it borne in mind that VL. and CL. infinitives were generally identical in form):

1) **Weak Verbs, Class I.** Here belong practically all VL. verbs ending in *-áre* ; in OF. they end in *-ẹ́r* or *-iẹ́r* (52. 1).

Weak Verbs, Class II. Here belong practically all VL. verbs ending in *-íre* ; in OF. they end in *-ír* (36). This class

is subdivided : **II. a**) those VL. -*ire* verbs which had not adopted the so-called inceptive or inchoative suffix -*sc*- ; **II. b**) those which had adopted that suffix in certain tenses (cf. 373). Classical Latin is here of no assistance to our memories, for many verbs which were without the inceptive suffix in CL., and in early VL., adopted it in later VL. Ca. 1100 only about thirty verbs still remained in II. a, of which the most important were : *bulir* ; *cuillir* ; *currir* ; *dormir* ; *eissir* ; *falir* ; *ferir* ; *fudir* ; *füdir* ; *glutir* ; *grondir* ; *hadir* ; *jodir* ; *mentir* ; *merir* ; *odir* ; *ofrir* ; *partir* ; *repentir* ; *salir* ; *sentir* ; *servir* ; *sortir* ; *sufrir* ; *uvrir* ; *vertir* ; *vestir*.

Weak Verbs, Class III. Here belong about twenty VL. verbs ending in *ẓere* ; in OF. they end in -*rẹ* (76). The nucleus of this class had been the VL. compounds of *dare* : for example, VL. *rẹ́ndẹre* (= CL. *rĕddĕre—rẹnd-* instead of *rẹdd-* was from analogy with *prẹ́ndere*). These verbs were strong in CL. (*rĕddĭdi*), and had been so in early VL., but became weak in later VL., as a result of the process called recomposition (15. Note); this process, affecting the perfect-stem tenses (VL. *rendẹ́di* = CL. *rĕddĭdi*) but not the present-stem tenses (VL. *rẹ́ndo* = CL. *rĕddo*), caused what was really the perfect of *dare* to seem like endings. To this nucleus were added, toward the end of the VL. period, some other verbs, most of them with stem in -*nd* (for example, VL. *respóndẹre*), which through some analogical influence adopted the perfect of *dare* as perfect endings. Following are the most important verbs of Weak, III ; *batre* ; *descendre* ; *fendre* ; *fondre* ; *naistre* ; *pendre* ; *perdre* ; *rendre* ; *respondre* ; *rompre* ; *suivre* ; *tendre* ; *veintre* ; *vendre* ; *vivre*.

2) **Strong Verbs.** Here belong practically all VL. verbs ending in -*ẹre* and *ẓere* (except those mentioned just above); in OF. they end in -*ẹ́ir* or *ịr* (39. 1) and -*rẹ* (76). Here belong also those very few VL. verbs in -*áre* and -*íre* which are not weak (cf. 385 ; 415 ; 420). All these VL.—OF. verbs fall into three classes : **Strong, I**) those whose perfect first singular ends in -*i* in VL., which ending disappears in OF. (*vídi* > *vit*); **Strong, II**) those whose perfect first

singular ends in VL. in -*si*, in OF. in -*s* (**prẹ́si* — CL. *prĕhĕndī* —>
pris); **Strong, III**) those whose perfect first singular ends in VL. in
-*ṷi*, in OF. in various manners : (*dẹ́bṷi* > *dūi* — cf. 206. Note ; 342.
3 ; and 404).   In the inflection of their non-perfect-stem tenses (the
tenses formed on the perfect-stem are the perfect indicative and the
imperfect subjunctive) most of the strong verbs follow Weak, III
(but cf. 382).

ENDINGS

In the following sections we do not at-
tempt to explain all differences between
the CL. and the VL. forms.   To do so
would lead too far afield.

339.   ## Present Indicative

Weak, I

CL.		VL.		OF. ea. 1100
căntō	=	*cánto*	>	*chant*
căntās	=	*cántas*	>	*chant es*
căntăt	=	*cántat*	>	*chant et*
căntāmŭs	=	*cantámus*	>	*chant ọ̄ns*
căntātĭs	=	*cantátis*	>	*chant ẹ̄ts [chantez]*
căntănt	=	*cántant*	>	*chant ent*

Weak, II. a

părtĭō	=	**párto*	>	*part (348. 2. b)*
pártĭs	=	*pártis*	>	*part s [parz]*
pártĭt	=	*pártit*	>	*par t (cf. Note)*
pártĭmŭs	=	*partímus*	>	*part ọ̄ns*
pártĭtĭs	=	*partítis*	>	*part ẹ̄ts*
pártĭŭnt	=	**pártunt*	>	*part ent*

Weak, II. b

fīniō	=	*fĭnį́sco	> fęn į́s (81. Note)
fīnīs		*fĭnį́scis	> fęn į́s
fīnĭt	=	*fĭnį́scit	> fęn į́st
fīnīmŭs	=	*fĭnį́scimus	> fęn įssę́ns (136)
fīnītīs	=	*fĭnį́scitis	> fęn įssįę́ts
fīnĭŭnt	=	*fĭnį́scunt	> fęn įssę́nt

Weak, III

and Strong

rĕddō	= rę́ndo	> rent (for the n, cf. 338. 1. III)
rĕddīs	= rę́ndis	> rent s [renz]
rĕddĭt	= rę́ndit	> ren t
rĕddīmŭs	= rę́ndimus	> rend ǫ́ns
rĕddītīs	= rę́nditis	> rend ę́ts
rĕddŭnt	= rę́ndunt	> rend ę́nt

Some 1st singulars of I, or of II. a, developing in accordance with 78. 2, end in -ę in OF. : ę́ntro (CL. íntro) > entr ę. Some 2d plurals of I acquired phonologically the ending -ię́z : for instance, tractátis > trait ię́z (52. 1 ; and 158. 1). Notice that the VL. 1st plural endings, instead of developing normally, were displaced by a new OF. ending, -ǫ́ns, by analogy to the normal 1st plural of the much used auxiliary to be : (OF. sǫ́ns < VL. sǫ́mus — cf. 185): cantámus, for example, becomes chantǫ́ns ; instead of chantáïns, as we should expect from 53. 1. In the 2d plural the ending of the first conjugation, -ę́z (< átis — 52. 1), supplanted the normal endings of the other conjugations : for example, partítis > partę́z ; instead of partíz, as we should expect from 36. The supplanting analogical ending was -ię́z if the VL. stem of the affected verb ended in a palatal or palatalized consonant : fęnissiez possessed -iez on account of the c in the VL. form.

Note. In the OF. singular of Weak, III, the verb-stem is irregular, the final d of the VL. stem having become t in the 1st and 2d singular, and having disap-

peared in the 3d singular. **This phenomenon, however, is not peculiar to these forms.** All VL. verb-stems ending in *d* or *t* lose the *d* or *t* whenever they come in OF. to stand before the ending -*t*, irrespective of conjugation or tense (cf. such sections as 122. 3 ; and 123). A somewhat similar phenomenon occurs when VL. verb-stems end in *p*, *b*, or *v* ; the *p*, *b*, or *v* becomes *f* when it comes in OF. to stand before no flectional ending (106), and disappears before the endings -*s* and -*t* (111): for example, the indicative present of *vivre* (< VL. *vívere*) is *vif*, *vi s*, *vi t*, *vir ons*, etc. VL. stems in *m* or *n* make the following changes : (1) Postvocal *m* or *n*, before a vowel-ending remains intact ; before a consonant-ending or when there is no flectional ending, *m* becomes *n*, *n* remains intact (180 and 185): *aimer* (< VL. *amáre*) has present subjunctive *ain*, *ain s*, *ain t*, *aim ons*, etc. (2) Postconsonantal *m* or *n*, before a vowel-ending or no flectional ending generally remains intact (188); before a consonant-ending generally disappears (189) : *dormir* (< VL. *dormíre*) has present indicative *dorm*, *dor s*, *dor t*, *dorm ons*, etc. VL. stems ending in a palatal result in various irregularities, too complicated to be presented in any simple formula. All of the foregoing phenomena are so common that it will be impossible for us to explain or even mention them on every occurrence. **The student must endeavor to bear constantly in mind the phonological laws which cause the most important, or at least the simplest, of them.**

340. ## Present Subjunctive

Weak, I

cǎntĕm	=	*cánte*	> *chant*
cǎntĕs	= =	*cántes*	> *chant s* [*chanz*]
cǎntĕt	=	*cántet*	> *chau t* (339. Note)
cǎntĕmǔs	=	*cantému s*	> *chant õns*
cǎntētīs	=	*cantétis*	> *chant ēts* [*chantez*]
cǎntĕnt	=	*cántent*	> *chant ent*

Weak, II. a

pǎrtĭǎm	=	**párta*	> *part e* (348. 2. b)
pǎrtĭǎs	=	**pártas*	> *part es*
pǎrtĭǎt	=	**pártat*	> *part et*
pǎrtĭǎmǔs	=	**partámus*	> *part õns*
pǎrtĭātĭs	= =	**partátis*	> *part ēts*
pǎrtĭǎnt	=	**pártant*	> *part ent*

Weak, II. b

fīnĭăm	=	*fĭnį́sca	> jęn įssę (81. Note)
fīnĭās	=	*fĭnį́scas	> fęn įssęs
fīnĭăt	=	*fĭnį́scat	> fęn įssęt
fīnĭāmŭs	=	*fĭnįscámus	> jęn įssǫ́ns
fīnĭātīs	=	*fĭnįscátis	> jęn įssįę́ts
fīnĭănt	=	*fĭnį́scant	> fęn įssęnt

Weak, III
and Strong

rĕddăm	=	rę́nda	> rend ę
rĕddās	=	rę́ndas	> rend ęs
rĕddăt	=	rę́ndat	> rend ęt
rĕddāmŭs	=	rendámus	> rend ǫ́ns
rĕddātīs	=	rendátis	> rend ę́ts
rĕddănt	=	rę́ndant	> rend ęnt

Some 1st, 2d, and 3d singulars of Weak, I, developing in accordance with 78, end in -ę, -ęs, and -ęt : ę́ntre (CL. íntrem) > entr ę. Some 2d plurals of Weak, II. a, and of Strong, and all 2d plurals of Weak, II. b, developing by 52. 1, end in -įę́z : dįcátis > dį įę́ts [díiez] (140. 1). All OF. present subjunctive 1st plural endings are analogical, having been adopted in imitation of the corresponding present indicative endings. The 2d plural ending of Weak, I is -ę́ts or -įę́ts (instead of -ę́its or -įts, as we should expect from 39. 1) from analogy with the corresponding endings of the other conjugations. All of the present subjunctive forms of Weak, II. b are analogical in the development of VL. sc : *fĭnį́sca would normally give fęnį́stšę (142. 1) ; it becomes fęnį́ssę from analogy with the present indicative.

341.   Imperfect Indicative

Weak, I

căntābăm	=	cantába	>	chant ǫę
căntābās	=	cantábas	>	chant ǫęs
căntābăt	=	cantábat	>	chant ǫt
căntābāmŭs	=	cantabámus	>	chant ii̯ę̄ns
căntābātīs	=	cantabátis	>	chant ii̯ę̄ts [chantiiez]
căntābănt	=	cantábant	>	chant ǫent

Weak, II. a

părtīēbăm	=	partę́a	>	part ę́ię
părtīēbās	=	partę́as	>	part ę́ięs
părtīēbăt	=	partę́at	>	part ę́it
părtīēbāmŭs	=	partę́ámus	>	part ii̯ę́ns
părtīēbātīs	=	partę́átis	>	part ii̯ę́ts [partiiez]
părtīēbănt	=	partę́unt	>	part ę́ient

Weak, II. b

fīnīēbăm	=	*fīnĭscę́a	>	fęn ĭssę́ię (136)
fīnīēbās	=	*fīnĭscę́as	>	fęn ĭssę́ięs
fīnīēbăt	=	*fīnĭscę́at	>	fęn ĭssę́it
fīnīēbāmŭs	=	*fīnĭscę́ámus	>	fęn ĭssii̯ę́ns
fīnīēbātīs	=	*fīnĭscę́átis	>	fęn ĭssii̯ę́ts [jenissiiez]
fīnīēbănt	=	*fīnĭscę́unt	>	fęn ĭssę́ient

Weak, III
and Strong

rĕddēbăm	=	rendę́a	>	rend ę́ię
rĕddēbās	=	rendę́as	>	rend ę́ięs
rĕddēbăt	=	rendę́at	>	rend ę́it
rĕddēbāmŭs	=	rendę́ámus	>	rend ii̯ę́ns
rĕddēbātīs	=	rendę́átis	>	rend ii̯ę́ts [rendiiez]
rĕddēbănt	=	rendę́unt	>	rend ę́ient

The development -*ába* > -*ǫ́ę* etc. is not in accord with 52. 1 and 106 ;
but this development, as well as -*ę́amus* > -*iię̃ns* and -*ę́atis* > -*iię́ts*, is
too complicated for discussion in an elementary grammar.   In Weak,
I the endings -*iiens* and -*iiez* are clearly from analogy with the other
conjugations.   The *t* of -*eit*, as well as the absence of *ę* in all the
3d singulars (we should expect *ę* on account of 78. 3), is perhaps
from analogy with imperfect subjunctive 3d singulars (124. Note ;
and 343).   In Weak, II. b, -*iss'ęíę*, etc., instead of *issíę*, etc. (39. 1),
are from analogy with such normal forms as *partę́íę*, etc.; *finisc-* >
fę́niss- (breaking 80. 2) from analogy with such normal forms as
fę́nissons (339); cf. also 81. Note.

342. 1)   **Perfect Indicative**

Weak, I

căntā́rī	=	*cantái*	>	*chant ái*
căntā́rĭstī	=	*cantásti*	>	*chant as*
cantā́rĭt	=	*cantát*	>	*chant at̰*
căntāvĭmŭs	=	*cantámus*	>	*chant ā́męs*
căntārĭstĭs	=	*cantástis*	>	*chant astę́s*
căntāvḗrănt	=	*cantárunt*	>	*chant ḗręnt*

Weak, II. a and b

părtī́rī	=	*partíi*	>	*part i̭*
părtīvĭstī	=	*partísti*	>	*part is*
părtīvĭt	=	*partít*	>	*part it̰*
părtīvĭmŭs	=	*partímus*	>	*part í̭męs*
părtīvĭstĭs	=	*partístis*	>	*part istę́s*
părtīvḗrănt	=	*partírunt*	>	*part í̭ręnt*

The development -*at* > -*at̰*, contrary to the law of 52. 1, cannot be
satisfactorily explained.   The same may be said of the retention, in
the OF. 1st and 2d plurals, of the unstressed vowel of the VL. end-
ing, a proceeding contrary to the laws of 78.   Some 3d plurals of

Weak, I, developing by 52. 1, end in -*iérent*: *tractárunt* > *trait iérent* (158. 1). The OF. 2d singulars given above have lost *t* (which should remain—cf. 122. 3) from analogy with the corresponding persons of all other tenses. The *a* in -*ámus* does not become *ái* (as we should expect from 53. 1) but remains unchanged, doubtless by analogy with the vowel of the 2d plural.

2) **Weak, III**

rĕddĭdī	=	*rendédi̧*	> *rend i̧* (338. 1)
rĕddĭdĭstī	=	*rendésti̧*	> *rend i̧s*
rĕddĭdĭt	=	*rendédit*	> *rend i̧ét*
rĕddĭdĭmŭs	=	*rendédimus*	> *rend i̧mes*
rĕddĭdĭstĭs	=	*rendéstis*	> *rend i̧stes*
rĕddĭdērŭnt	=	*rendéderunt*	> *rend i̧édrent*

The second *d* of the VL. ending -*dédi̧* disappeared by a process called 'dissimilation'; then -*éi̧* became -*i̧* by 50. -*ésti̧* became -*i̧s* by 43 (for the disappearance of *t*, cf. the explanation, given above, of *cantasti* > *cantas*). -*imes* and -*istes* are analogical endings, adopted in imitation of Weak, II.

3) **Strong, I**

vīdī	=	*vídi̧*	> *vi̧t*
vīdĭstī	=	*vidésti̧*	> *ved i̧s* (81. Note)
vīdĭt	=	*vídit*	> *vi̧ t*
vīdĭmŭs	=	*vidémus*	> *ved i̧mes*
vīdĭstĭs	=	*vidéstis*	> *ved i̧stes*
vīdērŭnt	=	*víderunt*	> *vi̧d rent*

Strong, II

mīsī	=	*mísi̧*	> *mi̧ s*
mīsĭstī	=	*misésti̧*	> *mȩ si̧s* (81. Note)
mīsĭt	=	*mísit*	> *mi̧ st*
mīsĭmŭs	=	*misémus*	> *mȩ si̧mes*
mīsĭstĭs	=	*miséstis*	> *mȩ si̧stes*
mīsērŭnt	=	*míserunt*	> *mi̧ strent*

Strong, III

hăbŭī	=	ábu̯i̯	>	ói̯
hăbŭīstī	=	abu̯ę́sti̯	>	ǫ ǘs
hăbŭīt	=	ábu̯it	>	ǫ́u̯ t
hăbŭīmŭs	=	abu̯ę́mus	>	ǫ ū̃mę̧s
hăbŭīstĭs	=	abu̯ę́stis	>	ǫ ǘstę̧s
hăbŭḗrŭnt	=	ábu̯erunt	>	ǫ́u̯ rę̧nt

Notice the important differences between CL. and VL. stress in the 1st and 3d plurals ; late VL. had developed these differences for analogical reasons.   The endings of Strong, I and II are for the most part normal : for the disappearance of 2d singular *t*, cf. the explanation, given above, of *cantasti* > *cantas* ; the 1st and 2d plural endings are from analogy with Weak, II ; for the stem-vowels, cf. 349.   As to Strong, III, we cannot go into detail, owing to the many complex problems involved (chief of which are those mentioned in 206. Note); we moreover refrain, merely on account of considerations of space, from giving the five paradigms which this class really demands (404); here let it suffice to say that the endings of all these five sub-classes are differentiated from those of Strong, I and II by the presence of *ü* and the absence of *s*.

343.   Imperfect Subjunctive (cf. 337. 2. c)

Weak, I

căntārĭssĕm	=	cantásse	>	chant assę̧
căntārĭssĕs	=	cantásses	>	chant assę̧s
căntārĭssĕt	=	cantásset	>	chant ast
căntārĭssēmŭs	=	c'ntassę́mus	>	chant issǫ̃ns
căntārĭssētĭs	=	căntassę́tis	>	chant issę́its [-isseiz]
căntārĭssĕnt	=	cantássent	>	chant assę̧nt

Weak, II. a and b

părtĭvĭssĕm	=	partĭsse	part ĭssę
părtĭvĭssēs	=	partĭsses	part ĭssęs
părtĭvĭssĕt	=	partĭsset	part ĭst
părtĭvĭssēmŭs	=	pàrtĭssēmus	part ĭssōns
părtĭvĭssētĭs	=	pàrtĭssétis	part ĭsséits
părtĭvĭssĕnt	=	partĭssent	part ĭssęnt

Weak, III

rĕddĭdĭssĕm	=	ręnlęsse	rend ĭssę
rĕddĭdĭssēs	=	rendęsses	rend ĭssęs
rĕddĭdĭssĕt	=	ręnlęsset	rend ĭst
rĕddĭdĭssēmŭs	=	rèndęssēmus	rend ĭssōns
rĕddĭdĭssētĭs	=	rèndęssétis	rend ĭsséits
rĕddĭdĭssĕnt	=	ręndęssent	rend ĭssęnt

Strong, I

vīdĭssĕm	=	vĭdęsse	vęd ĭssę (81. Note)
vīdĭssēs	=	vĭdęsses	vęd ĭssęs
vīdĭssĕt	=	vĭdęsset	vęd ĭst
vīdĭssēmŭs	=	vĭdęssēmus	vęd ĭssōns
rīdĭssētĭs	=	vĭdęssétis	reļ ĭsséits
vīdĭssĕnt	=	vĭdęssent	vęd ĭssęnt

Strong, II

mīsĭssĕm	=	mĭsęsse	mę sĭssę
mīsĭssēs	=	mĭsęsses	mę sĭssęs
mīsĭssĕt	=	mĭsęsset	mę sĭst
mīsĭssēmŭs	=	mĭsęssēmus	mę sĭssōns
mīsĭssētĭs	=	mĭsęssétis	mę sĭsséits
mīsĭssĕnt	=	mĭsęssent	mę sĭssęnt

7

Strong, III

hăbŭĭssĕm	=	*abuḙsse*	> ǫ *üssę* (206. Note)
hăbŭĭssĕs	=	*abuḙsses*	> ǫ *üsses*
hăbŭĭssĕt	=	*abuḙsset*	> ǫ *üst*
hăbŭĭssēmŭs	=	*àbuḙssēmus*	> ǫ *üssǭns*
hăbŭĭssētĭs	=	*àbuḙssétis*	> ǫ *üsséits*
hăbŭĭssĕnt	=	*abuḙssent*	> ǫ *üssent*

Notice that all the endings of Weak, III and of Strong, I and II are analogical (we should expect *ę* to become *ẹ̆* by 41), having been adopted in imitation of Weak, II. The same is true of the endings of Strong, III, except that here the vowel *ü* (characteristic of Strong, III—cf. 342. 3) is substituted for *i* throughout. As to Weak, I and II : the *ę* of the 1st and 2d singular endings (which has remained intact in violation of 78) is from analogy with the corresponding persons of the present subjunctives of Weak, II and III ; *-issons* and *-isseiz* of Weak, I, are from analogy with Weak, II : and *-issons* and *-isseiz* of Weak, II, are themselves (except for *-éiz* < *étis*) analogical formations (in violation of the laws of 40. 1, and 80. 2), having adopted *-ǭns* in imitation of the many other 1st plurals which already possessed it (339), and *-iss-* in imitation of such normal forms as *partisse* and *partisses*.

344. 1)   **Infinitive**

Weak, I :		*căntārĕ*	=	*cantáre*	> *chant ḗr*
Weak, II.	a } b }	*părtīrĕ*	=	*partḙre*	> *part ịr*
Weak, III :		*rĕddĕrĕ*	=	*rḙndęre*	> *rend rę*

Some infinitives of Weak, I, developing in accordance with 52. 1, end in *-iḙr* : *tractáre* > *trait iḙr* (158. 1). As to **Strong** infinitives : in VL. they end in *-áre*, *-íre*, *-ęre*, or *-ére* (338. 2); therefore in

OF. they end (irrespective of class) like weak verbs, or, if in VL. the ending is -ére, in -ệir : abére (CL. hăbēre) > av éir. Some VL. infinitives in -ére, developing in accordance with 39. 1, come to end in OF. in -ir : placére > plais ir (135).

2) Although VL. infinitives were in general identical with the corresponding CL. infinitives, a few came, toward the end of the VL. period, to differ in ending : for instance, early VL. sápere (CL. săpěre) > late VL. sapére > savéir.

3) **Future and Conditional** (cf. 337. 2. b)

Weak, I

căntārĕ +		
hăbĕō	càntaráyo	> chant ệrái
hăbĕs	càntarás	> chant ệras
hăbĕt	càntarát	> chant ệraṭ
hăbĕmŭs	càntarémus	> chant ệrōns
hăbētĭs	càntarétis	> chant ệréits [-ereiz]
hăbĕnt	càntaráunt	> chant ệrōnt

căntārĕ +		
hăbēbăm	càntarệa	chant ệréiẹ
hăbēbās	càntarệas	> chant ệréiẹs
hăbēbăt	càntarệat	> chant ệréit
hăbēbămŭs	càntarệámus	> chant ệriiẹns
hăbēbātĭs	càntarệátis	> chant ệriiẹts [-eriiez]
hăbēbănt	càntarệant	> chant ệréiẹnt

Weak, II. a and b

pàrtírĕ +			pàrtírĕ +		
hăbĕō	pàrtịráyo	> part ịrái	hăbēbăm	pàrtịrệa	> part ịréiẹ
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Weak, III
and Strong

rĕddĕrĕ +   rĕddĕrĕ +

hăbŭō = rę̆ndę̆ráyo > rend rái   hăbŭbăm = rę̆ndę̆rę́a > rend rę́ię̆

etc.   etc.   etc.   etc.   etc.   etc.

Notice the change of stress made by VL. infinitives in -áre and -íre.
The above compounds of Weak, I developed in accordance with 80 ;
those of Weak, II retained post-secondary-stress ĭ in violation of 80,
probably from analogy with the many forms of Weak, II where the ĭ
was normally retained.   The retention of a in the endings of the
future 2d and 3d singulars (we should expect ę̆ by 52. 1) is from
analogy with as and at of the verb avéir ; these forms of avéir, being
auxiliaries, and so having very little stress, developed like pretonic
syllables (cf. the third paragraph of 10–11 ; and 87).   -ons is from
analogy with the other 1st plurals which already possessed that ending
(339).   For the explanation of the conditional endings, cf. that of
the imperfect indicative endings of Weak, II (341).

345.   **Present Participle**

Weak, I :   căntăntĕm = cantánte   > chant ănt
Weak, II. a :   părtĭ̆ntĕm = *partę́nte   > part ănt (348. 2. b)
Weak, II. b :   finĭ̆ntĕm = *finiscę́nte > fĕn issănt (136)
Weak, III   }
Strong   }   rĕddĕntĕm = rĕndę́nte > rend ănt

Only in Weak, I, is the OF. present participle ending normal ; in
the other conjugations it has been adopted in imitation of Weak, I.
For the explanation of fĕniss- in Weak, II. b, cf. the last sentence
of 341.   Present participles are inflected according to the paradigm
of 303. II.

346.   Past Participle

Weak, I: *căntātŭm = cantátu > chant ĕt*

Weak, II. a ⎫
           b ⎭ *părtītŭm = partítu > part ĭt*

Weak, III :   *rĕddĭtŭm = rĕndútu > rend ŭt*

Some past participles of Weak, I ended in -*iĕt* (52. 1). Notice
that in Weak, III, late VL. adopted participles in -*ŭtu*, from
analogy with those verbs which had always had such participles. As
to **Strong** verbs, the endings in VL. (in general identical with
those of the corresponding CL. past participles) were varied, and,
developing normally, gave varied OF. results : for example, *fáctu*
(CL. *făctum*) > *fáit* ; *ársu* (CL. *ārsum*) > *ars*. But in late VL.
some strong past participles underwent the same analogical influence
noted above for Weak, III : late VL. *dĕbútu* (CL. *dēbĭtum*) > *dĕ ŭt*.
Past participles are inflected in accordance with the paradigm of
303. I. a.

STEMS

347. The development of Vulgar Latin stems was usually normal.
At the same time, analogy played a great part. Especially important
are the processes by which stem-differences within one and the same
verb, whether existent in Vulgar Latin, or arising later in consequence
of phonological development, were effaced by the adoption of one
form as sole verb-stem.

348. We will first discuss the present stem—upon which were
usually formed the present indicative, the present subjunctive, the
present participle, the imperfect indicative, the imperative, the per-
fect indicative (of weak verbs), and the imperfect subjunctive (of
weak verbs).

    1) A VL. stem-vowel often developed differently according
as it was or was not stressed. For example, *lávas* > *lĕ́ves* (52. 1),
but *lavátis* > *lavez* (87); *ámas* > *ái̇mes* (53. 1), but *amátis* > *amez*
(87). But toward the end of the first OF. period such differences
8

began to be effaced by the influence of analogy. And since there
were only nine stem-stressed forms (the 1st, 2d, 3d singular and 3d
plural of the present indicative and present subjunctive, and the 2d
singular of the imperative), and a much greater number of ending-
stressed forms, the vowel of the latter forms was almost always
adopted for the stressed syllables of the former : for example, *laf*,
laves, *lavet*, *lavent*, etc., instead of normal *lḛf*, *lḛves*, *lḛvet*, *lḛvent*, etc.
The verb *aimer*, on the contrary, began to make universal the vowel
of the stem-stressed forms, and ca. 1100 we frequently find forms like
áimez instead of normal *amez*.

2) Many VL. verbs contained an *i̦* between stem and ending
in certain of their forms (the corresponding CL. verbs have sometimes
ĭ, sometimes *ĕ*—cf. the last paragraph of 16–20): for example, VL.
faci̦o, *taci̦o* (CL. *facĭo*, *tacĕo*). This is called the 'derivative vowel.'

a) In a great many verbs this derivative vowel developed
normally : *faci̦o* > *fats* [*faz*] (198).

b) In other verbs the derivative vowel disappeared without
leaving any trace, from analogy with the forms of the verb which
contained no derivative vowel ; this disappearance took place, in most
cases, during the VL. period : VL. **parto* (CL. *partĭo*) > OF. *part*
(*parti̦o* would have given *parz* by 195).

3) Differences in stress, or differences in the vowels of
endings, often caused a VL. stem to develop differently in regard to
its final consonant. For example, *dóbitas* > *dutes* (122. 2. b), but
dobitátis > *dudez* (122. 2. c); *pasco* > *páis* (146), but *pascat* >
pastšet [*paschet*] (142. 1). Many (but by no means all—cf. 339.
Note) such resultant differences were effaced early in the first OF.
period by universalizing one or the other result. No manuscript con-
tains the form *dudez* ; by the time writing of Old French became
common, the analogical form *dutez* had taken its place. Likewise the
analogical present subjunctive *paisset* early appears beside the normal
form *paschet*, and eventually causes the entire disappearance of the
latter.

4) A few verbs show very great irregularities in the develop-

ment of the present stem, due to various causes. For example, VL.
abio (CL. *habĕo*) would normally have become OF. *adže* (191);
instead, the OF. form is *ái*, and we may therefore infer an inter-
mediate VL. form **ayo* (with irregular disappearance of the labial,
probably due to the fact that the word was so very frequently used
with very little stress—a phenomenon of syntactic phonology, cf. the
third paragraph of 10–11), which became *ái* (151).

349. The stems of the VL. strong perfects and imperfect sub-
junctives usually developed normally, with the result that in OF.
they often showed within themselves differences of stem-vowels. For
example, *mįsi* > *mįs* (36), but *misésti* (CL. *mīsīstī*) > *męsis* (43; 81.
Note). We find, however, many irregularities in the development
of VL. strong perfects and imperfect subjunctives, due for the most
part to the influence of analogy. For example, VL. **presit* (CL.
prĕhĕndīt) > *prist*, instead of *préist*, as we should expect from 39. 1 ;
this irregularity is probably due to the analogy of the form *pris*
(< **presi*) where the *į* is normal (43).

350. Although most strong past participle stems developed nor-
mally, many underwent analogical influences. OF. *dit*, for example,
cannot have come directly from VL. *dęctu* (CL. *dictum*), which would
have given *déit* by 44. Probably *dęctu* did give *déit*, and *déit* was
then changed to *dit* from analogy with the perfect *dįs* (< *dįxi*), where
the *į* was normal (38); and also, perhaps, from analogy with the past
participle *escrit* (< *escriptu*).

Conjugation during the Second Old French Period

The following paradigms present the
forms of ca. 1100. Each paradigm is
followed by a statement of analogical
changes during the second period. For
the sake of simplicity we shall mention
normal changes only when there seems
to be some especial reason for so doing ;
be it constantly borne in mind, how-

ever, that all the paradigms develop
in accordance with the laws of 207-
282, unless the contrary is stated.
For the sake of simplicity, again, we
shall avoid further mention of the pro-
cesses described in 348, although some
of them did not reach completion until
well into the second period.

Weak, I

351. Cf. 338. 1. During the second period Weak, I was con-
siderably augmented by OF. verbs which did not come from VL.
verbs, but were formed anew by processes of word-formation (cf. 12.
Note): for example, OF. *fester* was formed by adding the infinitive
ending -*er* to the stem of the OF. word *feste* ($<$ VL. *jesta*), there
having been, probably, no VL. verb *festare*.

352.   **Present Indicative**

chant	*entr* ç	*trait*
chant çs	*entr çs*	*trait çs*
chant çt	*entr çt*	*trait çt*
chant ǫns	*entr ǫns*	*trait ǫns*
chant ēz	*entr ēz*	*trait iéz*
chant çnt	*entr çnt*	*trait çnt*

Cf. 339. During the second period 1st singulars like *chant* and *trait*
more and more frequently added ç because of the presence of that
letter in both the 2d and 3d singular, and also from analogy with
forms like *entrç*. The occasional 2d plurals in -*iez* were soon sup-
planted by forms in -*ez*, from analogy with the much greater number
of verbs with 2d plural in -*ez*.

353.   **Present Subjunctive**

chant	*entr* ç	*trait*
chant s [*chanz*]	*entr çs*	*trait s*
chan t	*entr çt*	*trai t*

chant ǭns	entr ǭns	trait ǭns
chant ē̦z	entr ē̦z	trait ié̦z
chant ęnt	entr ęnt	trait ęnt

Cf. 340.   During the second period the endings -ę, -ęs, -ęt of the type *entre* were adopted for all verbs, in which change the analogy of the present subjunctive endings of the other conjugations also played a part.   The 1st plural ending, influenced by a present subjunctive 1st plural ending -i̯ḛ́ns peculiar to some of the OF. dialects, became -ions (pronounced -ïǫ̆ns—cf. 254 and 277) toward the end of the second period.   By that time -ē̦z had become -ié̦z from analogy with the 1st plural.

354.   **Imperfect Indicative**

> chant ǫę
> chant ǫęs
> chant ǫt
> chant i̯i̯ḛ́ns
> chant i̯ié̦ts [chantiiez]
> chant ǫęnt

Cf. 341.   During the twelfth century the imperfects of Weak, I adopted throughout the endings of Weak, II.   For subsequent development, cf. 365.

355.   **Perfect Indicative**

chant ái	trait ái
chant as	trait as
chant at	trait at
chant ā̆męs	trait ā̆męs
chant astęs	trait astęs
chant ē̦ręnt	trait ié̦ręnt

Cf. 342. 1.   During the second period the 1st plural inserted an *s* (*-asmes*) from analogy with the 2d plural ; this change, however, was probably purely orthographical—cf. 129 and 280 ; *-ierent* was soon replaced by *-crent* ; cf. the last sentence of 352.

356.   Imperfect Subjunctive

> *chant assę*
> *chant assęs*
> *chant ast*
> *chant issǫns*
> *chant issę́iz*
> *chant assęnt*

Cf. 343. Toward the end of the second period *-issons* and *-isseiz* are supplanted by *-issions* and *-issiez* from analogy with the present subjunctive (353).

357.   Future and Conditional

chant ęrái	*chant ęrę́ię*
chant ęras	*chant ęrę́ięs*
chant ęrat	*chant ęrę́it*
chant ęrǫns	*chant ęrii̯ę́ns*
chant ęrę́iz	*chant ęrii̯ę́ts* [*chanteriiez*]
chant ęrǫnt	*chant ęrę́ięnt*

Cf. 337. 2. b ; and 344. 3. Toward the very end of the second period *-eiz* begins to yield to *-ęz* (from earlier *-ę̄z*—cf. 211), from analogy with the present indicative 2d plural ending. For the subsequent development of the conditional endings, which are identical with the imperfect endings of Weak, II, cf. 365.

358. Imperative : *chant ę* (< VL. cánta)

> *chant ǫns* (< cantámus ; an analogical development—cf. 339)
>
> *chant ę̄z* (< cantátis)

Cf. 337. 2. d.

359. Infinitive : *chant ę̄r* ; *trait ię́r.*

Cf. 344. 1. *-ier* was soon replaced by *-er* ; cf. the last sentence of 352.

360. Present Participle : *chant ãnt.*

Past Participle : *chant ę̄t* ; *trait ię́t.*

Cf. 345 and 346. *-iet* was soon replaced by *-et* ; cf. the last sentence of 352.

Irregular Verbs of Weak, I

361. Several verbs, although they possess the general characteristics of Weak, I, are in some forms irregular. For example, the first singular of the present indicative of *aler* is *vois*. Evidently this form does not come from the same VL. stem as does the infinitive—it comes from *vado*. Furthermore, its development from *rado* is very irregular. The latter would have given normally *vẹt* (52. 1 ; 78. 2 ; and 116) : we must suppose, first, that the *d* of *vado* became silent extremely early because of the frequent use of the word (a phenomenon of syntactic phonology—cf. the third paragraph of 10–11) ; secondly, that *vao* was contracted to *vọ* for the same reason ; thirdly, that *-is* was added from analogy with a few very common verbs like OF. *nais* (< VL. *nasco*) where the *-is* was normal (146).

We shall adopt the following method of presenting the Old French irregular verbs.

We shall present only the most irregular (431). From 339. Note, and 347–350, it may be inferred that an exceedingly great number of OF. verbs were irregular—many more than in modern French, where countless irregularities have been effaced by analogical processes ; far too many to be given in a grammar of this scope. Of these 'most irregular' verbs we shall give the forms current ca. 1100. We shall not attempt to explain the irregularities. Such explanations may be found in the corresponding sections of the *Schwan-Behrens* ; as the above discussion of *vois* shows, they are out of place in an elementary grammar. Nor shall we discuss, except in case of especial need, development during the second period ; be it constantly borne in mind, however, that the irregular verbs not only developed in accordance with the laws of 207–282, but also shared in the analogical changes which affected regular verbs. We shall give the five principal parts of the verb in question. From these principal parts all regular forms of the verb may then be inferred : from the infinitive stem may be inferred the future and conditional, by adding the future and conditional endings ; from the present participle stem may be inferred

the imperfect indicative, the present subjunctive, and the first and second plural of the present indicative, by adding the appropriate endings ; from the past participle may be inferred the compound tenses, by prefixing the auxiliary *aveir* or *estre*, and the passive tenses, by prefixing the auxiliary *estre* ; from the present indicative first singular stem may be inferred the second and third singular and third plural of that tense, and the three persons of the imperative are normally identical in form with the first singular, the first plural, and the second plural of the present indicative, excepting that in the first conjugation the second singular imperative adds -*ę* to the present indicative first singular stem ; from the perfect first singular stem may be inferred the remainder of that tense, and the imperfect subjunctive. The following table may make the foregoing more clear :

Infinitive	Present Participle	Past Participle	Present Indicative	Perfect Indicative
chant er	*chant ant*	*chant et*	*chant*	*chant ai*
↓	↓		↓	↓
Future	**Imperfect Indicative**		*chant es*	*chant as*
			chant et	*chant at*
chant erai	*chant oe*		*chant ons*	*chant ames*
chant eras	*chant oes*		*chant ez*	*chant astes*
chant erat	*chant ot*		*chant ent*	*chant erent*
chant erons	*chant iiens*			↓
chant ereiz	*chant iiez*		**Imperative**	**Imperfect Subjunctive**
chant eront	*chant oent*		*chant e*	*chant asse*
↓	↓		*chant ons*	*chant asses*
Conditional	**Present Subjunctive**		*chant ez*	*chant ast*
chant ereie	*chant*			*chant issons*
chant ereies	*chant s* [*chanz*]			*chant isseiz*
chant ereit	*chan t* (339. Note)			*chant assent*
chant eriiens	*chant ons*			
chant eriiez	*chant ez*			
chant ereient	*chant ent*			

Adopting the arrangement of the above table, we shall give all uninferable—that is, all irregular—forms of a verb in their places in it, letting blank places imply regular forms. We shall never give the conditional, for its stem is invariably identical with the future stem. When a verb forms its compound tenses with the auxiliary *estre,* we shall give the first singular of the past indefinite immediately under the past participle ; when with *aveir,* we shall leave that space blank (it should be noted, however, that those **OF.** verbs which usually take *estre* are sometimes found with *aveir*). Often a tense is irregular in regard to the stem from which we expect to infer it, but within itself regular—in other terms, all of its forms have exactly the same irregular stem : of such tenses only the 1st singular will be given.

It should be constantly borne in mind that the various tenses are merely inferred, not in any sense derived, from the principal parts. The above table is intended merely as an aid to the memory ; its arrangement has nothing whatever to do with the laws governing verb development.

In the irregular verb paradigms, phonetic symbols and diacritic marks are used only when their omission might involve the student in difficulty. Cf. the remark immediately preceding 337. If the stem-vowel of the infinitive recurs in other forms of the verb, it is phonetically transcribed only in the infinitive : for example, in the verb *doner,* the *o* is written *ọ* only in the infinitive, though it is to be pronounced *ọ* (of course only when followed immediately by *n*) throughout the verb. If several forms of a tense contain the same difficult sound, it is phonetically transcribed only in the first singular : for example, in the present subjunctive of *aler,* *oi* is written *ọi* only in the first singular, though it is to be pronounced *ọi* throughout that tense. *d* and *t* are invariably distinguished from *ḍ* and *ṭ*.

1) **aler**(origin   *alant*   *aleṭ*
   unknown)

                                    sui

irai

vǫise	*aille* (pronoun
voises	*ailles* *al'ę—*
voiseṭ *voist*	*ailleṭ*
voisons	*aillons*
voisez	*ailliez*
voisent	*aillent*

2) **dõner**(< *dǫnáre*)   *donant*   *done*

donerai	*dǫinse*
or	*doinses*
donrai	*doinst*
or	*doinsons*
dǫrrai	*doinsez*
	doinsent

Weak, II. a

362. Cf. 338. 1. Weak, II. a, unlike Weak, I (351
augmented during the second period. On the contrary,
second period many verbs originally in II. a, adopted the
II. b.

363. ### Present Indicative

part	*cuévr ę* ($<$ VL. *cópero $=$ CL. *cŏŏpĕrĭo*;
part s [*parz*]	*cuévr ęs*
par t	*cuévr ęt*
part õns	*cuvr õns*
part ēts [*partez*]	*cuvr ēts* [*cuvrez*]
part ęnt	*cuévr ęnt*

Cf. 339. During the second period the type *cuevre* did no
the type *part* (352): *part, parz, part* remain without *ę*. V
type *part* add during the thirteenth century an -*s* to the 1
(*part s* [*parz*]) from analogy with the corresponding for
(373).

364. ### Present Subjunctive

part ę
part ęs
part ęt
part õns
part ēts [*partez*]

Cf. 341. The dissyllabic endings *-i-iens* and *-i-iez* soon became monosyllabic *-iẹ̈ns* and *-iẹ́z* ; then for the former was substituted *-iọ̈ns*, by analogy with the ending of the 1st plural present subjunctive (353).

366. <h3 align="center">Perfect Indicative</h3>

<div align="center">

part i̧
part i̧s
part i̧ṭ
part ī̧mẹs
part i̧stẹs
part i̧rẹnt

</div>

Cf. 342. 1. *-ismes* was adopted during the second period (355). Toward the end of the period the 1st singular added *-s* from analogy with Strong, II (386).

367. <h3 align="center">Imperfect Subjunctive</h3>

<div align="center">

part i̧ssẹ
part i̧ssẹs
part i̧st
part i̧ssõ̧ns
part i̧ssẹ́its [*partisseiz*]
part i̧ssẹnt

</div>

Cf. 343. *-issions* and *-issiez* are adopted during the second period (356).

368. <h3 align="center">Future and Conditional</h3>

<div align="center">

part i̧rái	*part i̧rẹ́iẹ*
part i̧ras	*part i̧rẹ́iẹs*
part i̧raṭ	*part i̧rẹ́it*
part i̧rõ̧ns	*part i̧riiẹ̈ns*
part i̧rẹ́iz	*part i̧riiẹ́ts* [*partiriiez*]
part i̧rõ̧ut	*part i̧rẹ́iẹnt*

</div>

Cf. 337. 2. b ; and 344. 3. For the subsequent development of these endings, cf. 357.

369.   **Imperative**

  part   *cuévr* ę (< VL. **cǫ́peri*—cf. 348. 1)
  part ǫ̃ns   *curr* ǫ̃ns
  part ę̃z   *curr* ę̃z

Cf. 337. 2. d. The plural endings have been explained in 339.
Verbs of the type *part* add, in the thirteenth century, an -s to the 2d
singular (*part s* [*parz*]) from analogy with the corresponding form of
II. b (373).

 370. Infinitive : *part ir.* Cf. 344. 1.
 371. Present Participle : *part ãnt.* Cf. 345.
  Past Participle : *part it.* Cf. 346.

371½.   **Irregular Verbs of Weak, II. a**

1) **bulir** (< *bǫllíre*) *bulant* *bulit* *bul′* [*buil*]   *buli*
  [*bulir, bolir,*]   *buls*
  and *boulir*—91]   *bult*   Imperative
       bul′e [*buille*] *bulons*   *bul*
              bulez
 buldrai   *bul′ent* [*buillent*]

2) **coillir** (< *cǫllegíre) *coillant* *coillit* *cuęl′* [*cucil*] *coilli*
  (pronounced *cǫl′ir*)   *cuelz*
            cuelt
      cuęl′e [*cueille*] *cǫl′ons* [*coillons*]
 coldrai [*coildrai*]   *cǫl′iez* (339)
            cuel′ent [*cueillent*]

3) **cuvrir** (< *cǫperíre) *cuvrant* *cuvęrt* *cuévre*   *curri*
  [*currir, corrir,*]
  and *couvrir*—91]
        cuévre
        cuevres
 cuvręrai   *cuevret*
        currons
        cuvrez
        cuevrent

Like *euvrir* is inflected *sufrir*, excepting that the stem *sufr-* is invariable.

4) ***éissir***(< *exíre*)   *eissant*   *eissüṭ*   *įs*   *eissi*
                                                                      įs
                                                                      įst
        eistrai   *sui eissüṭ*   *eissons*
                                                                      eissiez (339)
                                                                      įssent

As infinitive we find also *eistre*. Throughout the verb *éi* may be replaced by *į* : *įssir*, etc.

5) ***falir***(< **fallíre*)   *falant*   *faliṭ*   *fal'* [*fail*]   *fali*
                                                                      fáus
                                                                      fáut   Imperative
        fáudrai (174)   *fal'e* [*faille*]   *falons*   *fal*
                                                                      falez
                                                                      fal'ent

Exactly like *falir* is inflected *salir*.

6) ***ferir***(< *feríre*)   *ferant*   *feriṭ*   *fiẹ́r*   *feri*

        ferrai   *fiẹ́re*
                                          fieres
                                          fieret
                                          ferons
                                          ferez
                                          fierent

7) ***haḍir***(< **hatíre*)   *haḍant*   *haḍiṭ*   *háis*   *haḍi*
                                                                      hẹ̄z
                                                                      hẹ̄t
        haḍrai   *hatse* [*hace*]   *haḍons*
                                                                      haḍez
                                                                      hẹ̄ḍent

                                                                      hẹ̄ṭ

8) **odir**(< *audíre*)   *odant*   *odit*   *ói*   *odi*
                                                          ǫz
                                                          ǫt
        odrai   *óiɲę [oie—151]*   *ǫdons*
                                 óiɲęs   *ǫdez*
                                 óiɲęt   *ǫdent*
                                 óiɲǭns [oiions]
                                 óiɲiéz (340)
                                 óiɲęnt   *ǫz*

9) **ofrir**(< **ǫﬀęríre*)   *ofrant*   *ofęrt*   *ofre*   *ofri*

        ofręrai

10) **vestir**(< *vęstíre*)   *vestant*   *vestüt*   *rest*   *vesti*

Weak, II. b

372. Cf. 338. 1. This class was during the second period augmented by processes similar to those which augmented Weak, I (cf. 351) ; and by the transference into it of several verbs which during the first period had belonged to II. a.

373. The following tenses differ from II. a :

Pres. Ind.   *jen is*   **Pres. Subj.** *jen issę*
                  jen is   *jen issęs*
                  jen ist   *jen issęt*
                  jen issǭns   *jen issǭns*
                  jen issiéz   *jen issiéz*
                  jen issęnt   *jen issęnt*

Imperf. Ind. *jen isséię*   **Pres. Part.** *jen issãnt*
                 jen isséięs
                 jen isséit   **Imperative** *jen is* (< VL. **fiɲísce*)
                 jen issiiẽns   *jen issǭns* ⎫ (analogical
                 jen issiiéts[-iiez]   ⎬ developments
                 jen isséięnt   *jen issiéz* ⎭ —cf. 339)

Cf. 339 : 340 ; 341 ; 345 ; and 337. 2. d.   The subsequent develop-
ment of the endings is the same as that of the corresponding endings
of II. a.

373½.   Irregular Verb of Weak, II. b

guarir($< $*guar$i̧re$)   guarissant   guari̧t   guaris   guari
    (pronounced $garir$)
guarrai

Weak, III (338. 1)

374.   Present Indicative   Present Subjunctive

rent	rend	ȩ
rent	s[renz]	rend ȩs
ren	t	rend ȩt
rend	õns	rend õns
rend	ẹ̄ts[rendez]	rend ẹ̄ts[rendez]
rend	ȩnt	rend ȩnt

Cf. 339 and 340.   The subsequent development was identical with
that of verbs of II. a—cf. 363 and 364.

375.   Imperfect Indicative

rend éi̧ȩ
rend éi̧es
rend éit
rend i̧i̧ẽns
rend i̧i̧ẹ́ts[rendiiez]
rend éi̧ȩnt

Cf. 341.   For subsequent development, cf. 365.

376.   Perfect Indicative

rend i̧
rend i̧s
rend iẹ́t
rend ĩmȩs
rend istȩs
rend iẹ́drȩnt

Cf. 342. 2.   During the thirteenth century the 3d singular and the
3d plural adopted the endings of II. a, and the subsequent develop-
ment of all the endings was the same as for verbs of II. a (366).

377.   **Imperfect Subjunctive**

>rend issę
>rend issęs
>rend ist
>rend issǫns
>rend issęits [rendisseiz]
>rend issęnt

Cf. 343.   For subsequent development, cf. 367.

378.   **Future and Conditional**

rend rái	rend rę̨ię
rend ras	rend rę̨ięs
rend rat	rend rę̨it
rend rǫns	rend ṛiię̨ns
rend rę̨iz	rend ṛiię̨ts [rendriiez]
rend rǫnt	rend rę̨ię̨t

Cf. 337. 2. b ; and 344. 3.   For subsequent development, cf. 357.

379. Imperative : rent (< VL. ręnde)

rend ǫ̃ns ⎫
rend ę̄z ⎬ analogical developments—cf. 339.

Cf. 337. 2. d.   For subsequent development, cf. 369.

380. Infinitive : rend rę.   Cf. 344. 1.

381. Present Participle : rend ãnt.   Cf. 345.
Past Participle :   rend üt.   Cf. 346.

381½. Irregular Verbs of Weak, III

1) **náistre**(< *náscere*) *naissant* (136) *nę̄t*   *nais*   *nasquí*
     and   *nais* (pronounced
     nascǖt   *naist*   *naskí*)
       naissons   *nasquís*
       naissicz   *nasquít*
   sui nę̄t   (339)   *nasquĩmęs*
       naissent   *nasquístęs*
           nasquíręnt

2) **veintre**(< *vę́ncere*) *veinquant*   *veincǖt*   *veinc*   *veinquí*
   (pronounced *vę́intre*)   *veins*   (The re-
           veint   mainder
           veinquons of the
           veinquiez tense
           (339)   like
           veinquent *nasquí*)

3) **vívre**(< *vívere*) *vivant*   *vęscǖt*   *vif*   *vęsquí*
           (339.   (The re-
           Note)   mainder
               of the tense
               like *nasquí*)

Strong Verbs

382. The strong verbs are all irregular verbs : some are so inasmuch as they depart, in their non-perfect-stem tenses, from the paradigms of Weak, III (cf. the last sentence of 338); others, inasmuch as they depart, in their perfects, from the paradigms of 382, 386, and 404 ; still others are irregular in both respects ; and the few which are irregular in neither of these respects are nevertheless usually considered as irregular verbs because of their past participles, for so varied are strong past participles (cf. 346 and 350) that it is impossible to fix upon a satisfactory norm for them. We shall present the strong verbs, then, in the manner explained in 361. We shall

not need to give every strong verb, as quite often one is the model for several others. **In order to find by which model a strong verb is inflected, the reference list of irregular verbs (431) may be consulted.**

Since the strong verbs fall naturally into three classes, not only because of differences of VL. provenience, but also because of differences in the resultant OF. forms (cf. 338. 2), we shall present them in three lists. Before each list we shall give paradigms (of ca. 1100) for the perfect indicative and the imperfect subjunctive of the class in question.

Strong, I
Perfect Indicative

vit
rẹd is
vi   t
rẹd īmẹs
rẹd istẹs
vid rẹnt

Cf. 338. 2 ; 342. 3 ; 349. Before the end of the second period the 1st singular added -s from analogy with the corresponding form of Strong, II (386), thereby becoming *vis* (274). *-imes* becomes *-ismes* (355). Remember what is said in the remark immediately preceding 351 in regard to second period phonological development : *rẹdis*, for example, becomes *vis* by 271 and 273.

383.   **Imperfect Subjunctive**

rẹd issẹ
vẹd issẹs
rẹd ist
rẹd issōns
rẹd isséiz
rẹd issẹnt

Cf. 343. During the second period these endings developed in the same manner as the like endings explained in 367.

384. Strong, I consists of only three verbs : *vedeir* ; *venir* ; and *tenir* (< VL. *teníre* = CL. *tĕnēre*), which is conjugated exactly like *venir*, excepting that its past indefinite is *ai tenüt*.

vedeir(< *vedére*)	*vedant*	*vedüt*	*véi*	*vit*
			reiz	
			veit	
	veie (pronounced *véiye*—151)		*redons*	*vedisse*
			redez	
			reident	
			veit	
			redons	
			redez	

385.

venir(< *veníre*)	*venant*	*venüt* *sui venüt*	*riń* [*ving*] *viẹns* *vient*	*rĩn* *venis* *vĩnt*
vãndrai [*vendrai*]	*viéńe* [*vieigne*—203] *vieńes* *vieńet* *vẽńons* [*veignons*] *vẽńiez* *vieńent*		*venons* *venez* *vienent*	*venimes* *venistes* *vĩndrent*
			vien *venons* *venez*	*venisse*

Strong, II

386.   Perfect Indicative

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
mị s	*dǘi s*	*pláin s*
mę sịs	*dui sịs*	*plain sịs*
mị st	*dui st*	*plain st*
mę sịmęs	*dui sịmęs*	*plain sịmęs*
mę sịstęs	*dui sịstęs*	*plain sịstęs*
mị stręnt	*dui stręnt*	*plain stręnt*

Cf. 338. 2 ; 342. 3 : 349.   In the three verbs given above the end-
ings are exactly the same.   Why, then, are three paradigms neces-
sary ?   Partly because of differences (between Type 1 on the one hand
and Types 2 and 3 on the other) in handling the stem-vowel, but
mainly because they represent the points of departure of three different
lines of development during the second period : (1) Verbs ending in
-*is*, from analogy with the perfect of *vedeir* (382), came to be con-
jugated as follows : *mị s*, *mę ịs* (> *mịs* by 271), *mị st*, *mę ịmęs*, *mę*
ịstęs, *mị ręnt*.   (2) Verbs in -*uis* (and a few others of various end-
ings), from analogy with Weak, II. a (366), came to be conjugated
as follows : *dǘi sịs*, *dui sịs*, *dui sit*, *dui simes*, *dui sistes*, *dui sirent*.
(3) Verbs in -*ns*, adopting the endings of Weak, II. a, and their own
present-stems, came to be conjugated as follows : *plǎn is*[*plaignis*],
plǎn is, *plǎn it*, *plǎn imes*, *plǎn istes*, *plǎn irent*.   Of course -*imes*
became -*ismes* (355).

387.   Imperfect Subjunctive

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
mę sịssę	*dǘi sisse*	*pláin sisse*
me sịssęs	*dui sisses*	*plain sisses*
me sịst	*dui sist*	*plain sist*
me sịssǭns	*dui sissons*	*plain sissons*
me sịssę́iz	*dui sisseiz*	*plain sisseiz*
me sịssęnt	*dui sissent*	*plain sissent*

Cf. 343. The subsequent development of these three types corresponds to that of the three types of the perfect indicative, as explained in 386 : *mę įssę, dűi sįssę,* and *plằń įssę* [*plaignisse*], etc. For the subsequent development of the endings, cf. 367.

388.

ardeir(< *ardę́re*)	*ardant*	*ars*	*ar̃t*	*ars* (Type 2)
			arz	
	arge (pronounced		*ar̃t*	
	ardže—153)		*ardons*	
			ardez	
			ardent (339. Note)	

As infinitive we find also *ardre*.

Like *ardeir* is conjugated *mǫrdre* (< **mǫ́rdere*), excepting that its stem-vowel is always *ǫ*, and that it has no infinitive in -*eir*. Like *ardeir* are also conjugated *ęspardre* (< *spárgere*), *sųrdre* (< *sǫ́rgere*), *tęrdre* (< *tę́rgere*), *tǫrdre* (< **tǫ́rcere*), excepting that their infinitive stem-vowels reappear in all other forms, that their present indicative 2d singulars end in -*s* (*espars*, etc.), and that they have no infinitives in -*eir*.

389.

crembre(< **erę́mere*)	*cręmant*	*crent*	*crię́n̈*	*crens*(Type 3)
(pronounced *crãmbre*—47. 2)			*criens*	
			crient	
			cręmons	
crãndrai [*crendrai*]	*crię́me*		*cręmez*	
	criemes		*criement*	
	criemet̨		(339. Note)	
	cręmons			
	cręmez			
	criement			

Toward the end of the second period all forms of this verb become by analogy like those of *plaindre* (397) : infinitive *cráindre* ; present participle *crãn̈ant* [*craignant*] ; etc.

390.

dire(< *dícere*)	*disant*	*dit*	*di*	*dis*
			dis	(Type 1)
			dit	
	die		*dȋmęs disous*	
			ditęs	*dęsisse*
			dient	

Benędir may be inflected like *dire*, or in accordance with Weak, II. b; it also has an irregular perfect indicative *benesqui* (inflected like *nasqui*—381½. 1), and an irregular past participle *benedęit*.

Like *dire* is conjugated *despire* (< *despęcere*), excepting that its present indicative plural is *despisons*, *-iez*, *-ent*, and that its present subjunctive is *despise*, etc.

391.

dúire(< *dúcere*)	*duisant*	*duit*	*dui*	*duis*
				(Type 2)
	duie			

Like *duire* are conjugated *euire* (< *cǫquere*), *ęstruire* (< **ęstrúgere*), and *luire* (< **lúcere*), excepting that the stems of their present subjunctives and of their present indicative 3d plurals end in *s* (*euise*, etc.)

392.

ęscrivre(< *ęscríbere*)	*escrivant*	*escrit*	*escrif*	*escris*
			escris	*escręsis* etc.
			escrit	
			escrivons	
			escrivez	*escręsisse*
			escrivent (339. Note)	

The perfect indicative, although inflected ca. 1100 according to Type 1, did not develop as Type 1 did. Toward the end of the second period we find *escrivis, escrivis, escrivit*, etc.

393.

fáire(< *fácere*)	*faisant*	*fait*	*faz faiz*	*fis*(Type 1)
			fais	
			fait	
fęrai		*face* (pronounced *fátse*—198)	*fáimęs faisons*	*fęsisse*
			faitęs	
			fõnt	
			fai	
			faimes faisons	
			faites	

394.

maneir(< *manęre*)	*manant*	*mę̄s*	*máiń*[maing]	*mę̄s*
			máins	*masis*
			máint	*mę̄st*
mãndrai		*mãńe*[maigne]	*manons*	*masimes*
			manez	*masistes*
			máinent	*mę̄strent*
			main	*masisse*

During the second period this verb became in all its forms like *plaindre* (397). Cf. 389.

395.

mętre(< *mę́ttere*)	*mętant*	*mis mę̆t*		*mis*(Type 1)
	mę̆te			*męsisse*

396.

ocidre(< *ǫccídere*)	*ocidant*	*ocis*	*ociț*	*ocis*
(pronounced			*ociz*	(Type 1)
ǫtsídrę)			*ocit*	
			ocidons	*ocęsisse*
			ocidez	
			ocidenț(339. Note)	

397.

plǻindre(< *plángere*)	*plãńant*	*plǻint*	*plǻiń*[*plaing*]	*plǻins*
	[*plaignant*]		*plǻins*	(Type 3)
			plǻint	
			plãńons[*plaignons*]	
			plãńiez[*plaigniez*]	
			plãńent[*plaignent*]	

398.

prendre(< *préndere*)	*pręnant*	*pris*	*pren*	*pris*
(pronounced *prãndre*)			(pro-	(Type 1)
			nounced	
	prẽńe[*preigne*]		*prãn*)	*pręsisse*

399.

querre(< *quérere*)	*quęrant*	*quiș*	*quięr*	*quiș*
(pronounced *kęrrę*				(Type 1)
—154)				
	quięre			*quęsisse*
	quieres			
	quiereț			
	quęrons			
	quęrez			
	quierent			

As infinitive we find also *quęrir*.

400.

ri̭dre(< *ri̭dere)	ridant	ris	rit	ris(Type 1)
			riz	
			rit	
			ridons	rḙsisse
			ridez	
			rident(339. Note)	

Like *ridre* are conjugated *clo̭dre* (< *cláudere*), *cõnclüdre* (< *con-clúdere*), and *esco̭udre* (< *excótere*), excepting that their infinitive stem-vowels reappear in all other forms.

401.

sḙdeir(< sḙdḙre)	sedant	si̭s	si̭ḙt	si̭s(Type 1)
			siez	
	siḙ̭de		siet	sesisse
	siedes		sedons	
	siedet		sedez	
	sedons		siedent(339. Note)	
	sedez			
	siedent			

402.

so̭ldre(< só̭lvere)	solvant	solt	suḙl′[sueil]	sols(Type 2)
		and	suḙls	
		sols	suḙlt	
	só̭l′e [soille]		sṷlons	
			sṷlez	
			suḙlent	

suḙl

403.

tráire(< *trágere)	traiant	trait	trai	trais(Type 2)

Strong, III

404. The verbs of this class are all alike as regards their provenience—their perfects all coming from VL. perfects in -*ụi*—but from the OF. standpoint, on account of numerous small differences both in endings and stems, they must be divided into five types. All of these types (except Type 4) differ from Strong, I and Strong, II, inasmuch as in practically all of their perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive endings *ü* is present, and in all of them *s* is absent. Type 4, as far as the OF. forms of ca. 1100 are concerned, might be considered as of Strong, I, but in provenience and second period development it is of Strong, III. Notice that Type 5 is strong (338) only from the standpoint of Vulgar Latin ; in Old French it has no stem-stressed forms.

Perfect Indicative

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
$ói(< ábụi)$	$dúi(< débụi)$	$núi(< nóeụi)$
$ọ$ üs	$dẹ$ üs	$nọ$ üs
$óu$ t	$dü$ t	$nü$ t
$ọ$ ǖmẹs	$dẹ$ ǖmẹs	$nọ$ ǖmẹs
$ọ$ üstẹs	$dẹ$ üstẹs	$nọ$ üstẹs
$óu$ rẹnt	$dü$ rẹnt	$nü$ rẹnt

	Type 4	Type 5
	$róil(< rólụi)$	ral $úi(< rálụi)$
	$vụl$ is [*vul-*, *vol-*, and	ral üs
	$rọl$ t *voul-*, cf. 91]	ral üt
	$vụl$ ịmẹs	ral ǖmẹs
	$vụl$ ịstẹs	ral üstẹs
	$rọl$ drẹnt	ral ürẹnt

Cf. 338. 2 ; 342. 3 ; 349. During the second OF. period, *voil* (which was the only verb of Type 4) was completely assimilated to Type 5, becoming *vụlüi* (231), *vụlüs*, etc. Toward the end of the period all the 1st singulars adopted the ending -*üs*, from analogy with

Strong, II : for example, *valüs*.   All the 1st plurals inserted an *s* (355).   The ending-stressed forms of Types 1, 2, and 3 became *üs* [*eus*], *ũmęs, üstęs ; düs, dũmęs, düstęs ; nüs, nũmęs, nüstęs ;* in Type 2 these developments were normal (271); in Types 1 and 3 they were from analogy with Type 2.

405.   **Imperfect Subjunctive**

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
ǫ üssę	*dę üssę*	*nǫ üssę*
o üssęs	*de üssęs*	*no üssęs*
o üst	*de üst*	*no üst*
o üssõns	*de üssõns*	*no üssõns*
o üssẹiz	*de üssẹiz*	*no üssẹiz*
o üssęnt	*de üssęnt*	*no üssęnt*

Type 4	Type 5
vǫl įssę	*val üssę*
vul įssęs	*val üssęs*
vul įst	*val üst*
vul įssõns	*val üssõns*
vul įssẹiz	*val üssẹiz*
vul įssęnt	*val üssęnt*

Cf. 343 ; 349.   The pretonic vowels of Types 1, 2, and 3 developed as did the pretonic vowels of the perfect indicatives (404).   During the second period *-ussons* and *-usseiz* became *-ussions* and *-ussiez* (356).

406.

aveir(< *abẹre*)	*avant*	*ǫüṭ*	*ái*	*oi*(Type 1)
	and	*and*	*as*	
	aiant	*ęüṭ*	*aṭ*	
	(pronounced		*avons*	*ousse*
	áiyant—152)		*avez*	
			ǫnt	

aveie

			aies	
			aions	
	aie (pronounced		*aiiez*	
	*aies áiyẹ—*151)			
	ait			
	aions			
	aiiez (340)			
	aient			

407.

béivre(< *bẹbere*)	*bẹvant*	*bẹüṭ*	*beiſ*	*bui*
			(339.	(Type 2)
			Note)	
bẹvrai	*beive*			*beusse*
	beives			
	beiveṭ			
	bẹrons			
	bẹvez			
	beivent			

408.

chadẹir(< **cadẹre*)	*chẹdant*	*chẹdüṭ*	*chiẹṭ*	*chẹdi*
			chiez	*chedis*
	chiẹde		*chiet*	*chedit*
chadṛai	*chiedes*		*chẹdons*	*chedimes*
and	*chiedeṭ*		*chẹdez*	*chedistes*
chẹdṛai	*chẹdons*		*chiedent*	*chedirent*
	chẹdez		(339. Note)	
	chiedent			

As far as these OF. forms of ca. 1100 are concerned, *chadẹir* is an
irregular verb of Weak, II. a.   But during the second period it
adopted, in the perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive, the end-
ings of Strong, III, Type 5.

409.

conoistre($<$ *connóscere*)	*conoissant*	*conọ̈ụ̈ṭ*	*conois*	*conui*
(pronounced *cǭnǫ́istre*)		and		(Type 3)
		conẹ̈ụ̈ṭ		
				conousse

410.

créiḍre($<$ *crẹ́dere*)	*crẹdant*	*crẹḍü̈ṭ*	*creit*	*crui*
			creiz	*crẹḍus*
			creit	(Type 2)
crẹḍrai	*creiḍe*		*crẹḍons*	
	creiḍes		*crẹḍez*	
	creiḍeṭ		*creiḍent*	*crẹḍusse*
	crẹḍons		(339. Note)	
	crẹḍez			
	creiḍent			

411.

créistre($<$ *crẹ́scere*)	*creissant*	*crẹü̈ṭ*	*creis*	*crui*
				(Type 2)
				creusse

412.

cụrre($<$ *cǫ́rrere*)	*currant*	*currü̈ṭ*	*cur*	*currui*
[*curre, corre,*			*curs*	(Type 5)
and *courre*—66]			*curt*	
			currons	
			currez	
			current	

As infinitive we find also, toward the end of the second period, *curir*.

413.

deveir(< debére)   devant   deüt   déi   dui
                                               deis   (Type 2)
　　　　déie　　　déive   deit
　　　　deies　　　deives   devons
　　　　deiet　　　deivet   devez   deusse
　　　　deions　　 devons   deivent
　　　　deiiez(340) devez
　　　　deient　　　deivent
                                               deif

Deie is pronounced *déiye* (151) ; *deions* is pronounced *déiyóns* (152).

414.

duleir(< dolére)   dulant   dulüt   duél'[dueil]   dului
　[duleir, doleir,   duéls   (Type 5)
　and douleir—91]   duélt
　　　　duéle[dueille]   dulons
　　　　duéles   dulez
duldrai   duélet   duélent
　　　　dulons[duillons,
　　　　duliez　doillons, and
　　　　duélent douillons]   duél

415.

ester(< estáre)   estant   estét   estóis   estui
                                               estas   (Type 2)
                                               estat
estqrai   estóise   estons
                                               estez   esteusse
                                               estónt

                                               esta

416.

estuveir(<*èstopére) ——   ——   ——   ——
　(an impersonal   esturéit   estuét   estüt
　verb—'to be
　necessary')
　　　　estüisset   esteüst
　　　　and
　　　　estüist

417.

estre (< *éssere)

estant   estét

súi		fúi
iés es		fús
est		fút
sóns sóms sómes		fúmes
estes		fústes
sónt		fúrent

Future

estrai	serai	iér	er
estrus	serus	iers	ers
estrat	serat	iert	ert
estrons	serons	iermes	ermes
estrez	serez	iertes	ertes
estront	seront	ierent	erent

Imperfect Indicative

esteie	iére	ere
esteies	ieres	eres
esteit	ieret	eret ert
estiiens	eriiens	eriiens
estiiez	eriiez	eriiez
esteient	ierent	erent

séies
seions
seiez

fússe

Present Subjunctive

séie (< VL. séa)
seies
seit
seions
seiez
seient

Conditional

estreie   sereie   etc.
etc.

418.

gesir(< *jacére*)	*gẹsant*	*gẹüṭ*	*gi̧s*	*jui*(Type 2)
(pronounced			*gi̧s*	
džẹzi̧r—150)			*gi̧st*	
	gise		*gẹsons gẹusse*	
			gẹsiez(339)	
gẹrai			*gi̧sent*	

Like *gesir* is conjugated the impersonal verb *léisir* (< *lẹeére*), excepting that wherever *gesir* has *gẹ-*, *leisir* has *léi-*.

419.

lịre(< *légere*)	*lisant*	*lẹüṭ*	*li*	*lui*(Type 2)
			lis	
			lit	*leusse*
			lisons	
			lisiez(339)	
			lisent	

Lire has also a perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive inflected by Strong, II, Type 1: *lis*, etc.; *lesisse*, etc.

420.

mu̧rir(< **mo̧ríre*)	*murant*	*mo̧rt*	*mu̇́ir*	*murui*(Type 5)
[*murir, morir,*			*mu̧érs*	
and *mourir*—91]			*muert*	
	mu̇́ire	*sui mort*	*murons*	
			murez	
			muerent	
			muer	

421.

mu̧veir(< *mo̧rére*)	*muvant*	*mo̧üṭ*	*mu̧éj́*	*mui*(Type 3)
[*mureir, moveir,*		and	(339.	
and *mouveir*—91]		*mẹüṭ*	Note)	

10

	muę́re			*mousse*
	mueres			
	mueret			
	muvons			
	muvez			
	muevent			

422.

nǘisir(< *noçę́re*)   *nuisant*   *nǫ̈üṭ*   *nuis*   *nui*(Type 3)
                                        and
                                        nęüṭ

nuirai   *nousse*

As infinitive we find also *nuire*.

423.

pareir(< *parę́re*)   *parant*   *parüṭ*   *pę̃r*   *parui*(Type 5)

                        páire

424.

pláisir(< *placę́re*)   *plaisant*   *plǫüṭ*   *plais*   *ploi*(Type 1)
                                          and   *plais*
                                          plęüṭ   *plaist*

plairai   *place*(pronounced   *plaisons*   *plousse*
                           platsę—198)   *plaisiez*(339)
                                                  plaisent

As infinitive we find also *plaire*.

425.

plu̯veir(< **plǫvę́re*)   *pluvant*   *plǫüṭ*   *pluę́ĵ*   *plui*(Type 3)
  [*pluveir, ploveir,*   and   (339.
  and *plouveir*—91]   *plęüṭ*   Note)

                            pluę́re   *plousse*
                            plueves
                            plueveṭ
                            pluvons
                            pluvez
                            pluvent

426.

pudeir(< *poțére)	pudant	pọdüṭ	püïs	poi(Type 1)
[pudeir, podeir			puéz	podus
and poudeir—91]			puet	
	püïsse		pudons	
	puisses		pudez	podusse
	puisseṭ puist		puedent	
	puissons			
	puissiez(340)			
	puissent		No imperative	

427.

reçéivre(<reçépere)	reeçrant	reeçüṭ	reçéïj	recui(Type 2)
			(339.	
			Note)	
reeçrrai	reçéive			reeeusse
	receives			
	reeeiveṭ			
	reeçrons			
	reeçrez			
	reeçivent			

As infinitive we find also reeçreir.

428.

saveir(< sapére)	sachant	sọüṭ	sái	soi(Type 1)
		and	sẹ̈s	
		sçüṭ	sẹ̈t	
	saveie		sarons	sousse
			sarez	
			sẹ̈vent	
	sache(pronounced			
	satšẹ—192. 1)			
			saches	
			sachons	
			sachiez	

429.

valeir(< *valẹre*)	*valant*	*valüt*	*val'*[*vail*] *valui*(Type 5)
	and		*váus*
	raillant		*váut*
váudrai(174)			*valons*
			valez
	valeie		*valent*

vaille(pronounced   No imperative
val'ę—200)

430.

vụleir(<*vọlẹre*)	*vulant*	*vulüt*	*vuę́l'* [*vueil*] *voil*(Type 4)
[*vuleir, voleir,*	and		*ruę́ls*
and *vouleir*—91]	*vuillant*		*vuę́lt*
			vụlons *vulisse*
			vụlez
vuldrai	*vuleie*		*vuę́lent*

vuę́l'e(*vueille*)	*vuę́l'es*
vuę́l'es	*vụl'ons*
vuę́l'ẹt	*vụl'iez*
vụl'ons(*vuillons, voillons,*	
vụl'iez(340) and *rouillons*)	
vuę́l'ent	

Vuleir also had a perfect indicative and imperfect subjunctive inflected
according to Strong, II : *vọls, vụlsis,* etc. ; *vụlsisse,* etc.

Reference List of Irregular Verbs

431. Following is an alphabetical list of the irregular verbs whose
forms have been given in tabular form (361) in the preceding sec-
tions. We have thus given by no means all the irregular verbs of
Old French. Indeed, a regular verb being one all of whose forms

may be inferred from the principal parts (361), almost every Old French verb of ca. 1100 is irregular (339. Note, and 348). Even *chanter*, which we have used as the paradigm for Weak, I, is irregular in its present subjunctive 3d singular, as may be seen from the table in 361. It being impracticable, therefore, to give in tabular form all the irregular verbs, we have presented only those possessing the greatest number of irregularities, and those possessing the most unusual irregularities. We have not given, however, any verb of very rare usage. **In the following list compounds presenting no peculiarity are omitted if the simple verb occurs.** The references are to sections.

aler. . . . . 361.' 1	*cuvrir*. 371½. 3
ardeir } 388	*deceivre* } 427
ardre }	*deceveir* }
ascrivre. 392	*despire*. 390
ataindre. 397	*deveir*. 413
aveir. 406	*dire*. 390
beivre. 407	*doner*. 361. 2
benedir. 390	*duire*. 391
bulir. 371½. 1	*duleir*. 414
ceindre. 397	*eissir* } 371½. 4
chadeir. 408	*eistre* }
chaleir. 429	*escoudre*. 400
clodre. 400	*escrivre*. 392
coillir. 371½. 2	*espardre*. 388
conceivre } 427	*esteindre*. 397
conceveir }	*ester*. 415
concludre. 400	*estre*. 417
conoistre. 409	*estreindre*. 397
creidre. 410	*estruire*. 391
creistre. 411	*estuveir*. 416
crembre. 389	*faire*. 393
cuire. 391	*falir*. 371½. 5
curir } 412	*feindre*. 397
curre }	*ferir*. 371½. 6

APPENDIX

Connected Passages with Phonetic Transcription

The following phonetic transcriptions, although of an approximate nature, may nevertheless give the beginner some idea of the pronunciation of connected Old French. Many of the sounds involved are still subjects of contention among authorities ; as to such points the beginner cannot hope to draw independent conclusions until he knows how to handle the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* ; then he will be able to make his own phonetic transcriptions.

I. The First Period

Following are the opening lines of the *Chanson de Roland*, written toward the end of the eleventh century :

1 Charles li reis, nostre emperere magnes,
2 Set anz tuz pleins at estet en Espaigne,
3 Tresqu'en la mer conquist la terre altaigne.
4 N'i at chastel qui devant lui remaignet ;
5 Murs ne citet n'i est remes a fraindre
6 Fors Sarragoce, qui est en une montaigne.
7 Li reis Marsilies la tient, qui Deu nen aimet ;
8 Mahomet sert et Apollin reclaimet.—
9 Nes puet guarder que mals ne l'i ataignet !

1 tšarlę lį réis, nǫstr ãmpęrẹrę mãȟęs,
2 sęt ãnts tụts plę̃ins ad ęstẹd ãn ęspãȟę,
3 tręsk ãn la mẹr kǫ̃nkį la tęrr áutãȟę.
4 n į a tšastęl kį dęvãnd lúi ręmãȟęt ;
5 mür nę tsįtẹt n į ęst ręmẹz a fráindrę
6 fǫr sarragụtsę, kį st ãn ü̃nę mǫ̃ntãȟę.
7 lį rḗi marsįl'ę la tię̃nt, kį dḗu nãn áimęt ;
8 mahǫ̃męt sęrt ęd apǫlįnd rękláimęt.—
9 nęs puẹt gardẹr kę mãu nę l į atáiȟęt !

Before consulting the following notes the student should read the third paragraph of 10-11, and 103. Note 2.

Line 1. *Charles* ($<$ VL. *Carolus*) $=$ *tšarlę* : Frenchmen of ca. 1100, whenever they pronounced *Charles* as an isolated word, said *tšarlęs* (132), but when, in connected speech, it was followed by *li*, they did not pronounce the *s*, for that linguistic process which had already resulted in the disappearance of every medial *s* before a sonant consonant (129) was still operative whenever similar combinations arose from the juxtaposition of words in connected speech. *nostre* ($<$ VL. *noster*) $=$ *nǫstr* : in OF. verse a final *ę* (78. 3) immediately preceding a word beginning with a vowel was usually elided.

Line 2. *at* ($<$ VL. *abet*) $=$ *ad* : we have *d*, in spite of 124. Note, in accordance with 116. *estet* ($<$ *estatu*) $=$ *ęstēd* : we have *d*, in spite of the last part of 116, in accordance with the first part of 116.

Line 3. *eonquist* ($<$ VL. **eonquesit*) $=$ *kǫnki* : the *t* falls, in spite of 122. 3, in accordance with 123 ; the *s* then falls, in accordance with 129. *terre* ($<$ VL. *terra*) $=$ *tęrr* : cf. *nostre* in line 1.

Line 4. *at* ($<$ VL. *abet*) $=$ *a* : the *t* falls, in spite of 124. Note, in accordance with 117. 3. *devant* ($<$ *de* $+$ *ab* $+$ *ante*) $=$ *dęvãnd*: the *t* falls, in spite of 122. 3, in accordance with 123 ; *d* is then generated, in accordance with 186.

Line 5. *Murs* ($<$VL. *murus*) $=$ *mür* : the *s* falls, in spite of 132, in accordance with 129. *eitet* ($<$ VL. *eivitate*) $=$ *tsiṭēṭ* : the *t* would fall, in spite of 116, in accordance with 120, were it not for the fact that a caesura immediately follows. *remes* ($<$ VL. *remasus*) $=$ *ręmēz* : we have *z*, in spite of 132, in accordance with 126.

Line 6. *fors* ($<$ VL. *foris*) $=$ *fǫr* : the *s* falls, in spite of 132, in accordance with 127. *qui est* ($<$ VL. *qui est*) $=$ *ki st* : in OF. verse the *ę* of this combination was usually elided.

Line 7. *reis* (VL. **reges*) $=$ *rẹ́i* : the *s* falls, in spite of 132, in accordance with 129 ; the *ẹi* then becomes *ẹ́i*, in accordance with 44. *Marsilies* (a borrowed word—the Late Latin *Marsilius*) $=$ *marsil'ę* : cf. *Charles* in line 1. *Deu* (a borrowed word—the Late Latin *Deum*) $=$ *dẹ́u* : as there were no OF. words containing medial *ẹu* $+$ nasal

consonant, the nasal diphthong corresponding to ę́u (240) is not included in the list of 256–263 : it must have been generated in connected speech, however, when final ę́u was immediately followed by an *n* or *m*, and was probably pronounced ę̃́u.

Line 8. *et* (< VL. *et*) = ęd : we have *d*, in spite of the last part of 116, in accordance with the first part of 116.   *Apollin* (a borrowed word—the Late Latin *Apollinum*) = apǫlĩnd : cf. 186.

Line 9. *mals* (< VL. *malus*) = mã́u : cf. *Charles* in line 1 ; and, for the nasal diphthong, *Deu* in line 7.

II. The Middle of the Second Period

Following are the opening, lines of the *Roman de la Rose*, written about the year 1237 :

    1   Maintes gens dient que en songes
    2   N'a se fables non, et mensonges ;
    3   Mais l'en puet tiex songes songier
    4   Qui ne sunt mie mensongier ;
    5   Ains sunt apres bien apparant.
    6   Si en puis bien trere a garant
    7   Un acteur qui ot non Macrobes,
    8   Qui ne tint pas songes a lobes ;
    9   Aincois escrist la vision
    10 Qui avint au roi Cipion.

    1   mę̃́intę žãn dięn kę ãn sǫ̃nžęs
    2   n u sę fablę nǫ̃n, ę mãnsǫ̃nžęs ;
    3   mę l ãm pö tiö́ sǫ̃nžę sǫ̃nžię́r
    4   kĩ nę sǫ̃ mię mãnsǫ̃nžię́r ;
    5   ę̃́in sǫ̃nt aprę bię̃́n aparãnt.
    6   sị ãm püị̈ bię̃́n tręr u garãnt
    7   ũn aktör kị ǫ̊u nǫ̃ makrǫbęs,
    8   kĩ nę tĩm pu sǫ̃nžęz u lǫbęs ;
    9   ę̃́insǫ́iz ęskrị la vịziǫ̃n
    10 kị arĩnt áu rǫ́i sịpịǫ̃n.

Many first period laws of consonant development, especially those relating to consonant groups, held good throughout the second period, but are not listed in 272–282 because during the second period the groups which they might have affected no longer existed in the interior of words (it will be remembered that in general we have avoided discussing the development of words in connected speech—cf. 103. Note 2). That is why the majority of the following notes, although dealing with phenomena of the second period, contain references to rules listed in the sections of the first period.

Line 1. *Maintes* ($<$ VL. **manctas*) $= m\acute{e}int\varrho$: cf. 129. *gens* ($<$ VL. *gentes*) $= \check{z}\tilde{a}n$: cf. 129. *dient* ($<$ VL. *dieunt*) $= di\varrho n$: cf. 123.

Line 2. *fables* (a borrowed word—the Late Latin *fabulas*) $= fabl\varrho$: cf. 129.

Line 3. *Mais* ($<$ VL. *magis*) $= m\varrho$: cf. 129. *en* ($<$ VL. *omo*) $= \tilde{a}m$: cf. 184. *puet* ($<$ VL. *potet*) $= p\ddot{o}$: cf. 117. 1. *tiex* ($<$ VL. *tales*—cf. 281. Note) $= ti\ddot{o}$: cf. 127. *songes* ($<$ VL. *somnios*) $= s\tilde{\varrho}n\check{z}\varrho$: cf. 127.

Line 4. *Qui* ($<$ VL. *qui*) $= k\dot{\imath}$: cf. 37. *sunt* ($<$ VL. *sunt*) $= s\tilde{\varrho}$: cf. 123 and 183.

Line 5. *Ains* ($<$ VL. **antius*) $= \acute{e}in$: cf. 127. *apres* ($<$ VL. *appressu*) $= apr\varrho$: cf. 129.

Line 6. *en* ($<$ VL. *ende*) $= \tilde{a}m$: cf. 123 and 184. *puis* ($<$ VL. **posco*) $= p\ddot{u}i$: cf. 129. *trere* ($<$ VL. **tragere*) $= tr\varrho r$: cf. *nostre* in selection I, line 1.

Line 7. *ot* ($<$ VL. *abuit*) $= \dot{\varrho}u$: cf. 120 ; and, for the nasal diphthong, *Deu* in selection I, line 7. *non* ($<$ VL. *nome*) $= n\tilde{\varrho}$: cf. 183.

Line 8. *Qui* ($<$ VL. *qui*) $= k\dot{\imath}$: cf. 37. *tint* ($<$ VL. **tenit*) $= t\dot{\imath}m$: cf. 123 and 184. *pas* ($<$ VL. *passu*) $= pa$: cf. 127. *songes* ($<$ VL. *somnios*) $= s\tilde{\varrho}n\check{z}\varrho z$: cf. 126.

Line 9. *Aineois* (this is the OF. word *ains* + the suffix *-ois* $<$ VL. *-ensis*) $= \acute{e}ins\acute{\varrho}iz$: cf. 126. *eserist* ($<$ VL. *eseripsit*) $= \varrho skr\dot{\imath}$: cf. *conquist* in selection I, line 3.

III. The End of the Second Period

Following are a few lines of *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, written in the last half of the fifteenth century (during this century French orthography showed the effect of the Revival of Learning, many words being approximated to their Latin prototypes—this explains, for instance, the presence of the *e* in *faict, traictis, faictis*):

1	Pathelin.	Que ce drap ycy est bien faict !
2		Qu'est il souef, doulx, et traictis !
3	Le Drappier.	Je l'ay faict faire tout faictis
4		Ainsi des laines de mes bestes.
5	Pathelin.	Hen ! hen ! quel mesnagier vous estes !

1	patęlẽn.	kę sę drap isi ę biẽ fęt !
2		kęt i sųęf, dus, ę tręṭis !
3	lę drapiẽr.	žę l ę fẹ fęrę tu fęṭis
4		ẽsi dę lęnę dę mę bętęs.
5	patęlẽu.	hãn ! hãn ! kę męnažę vųz ętęs !

Line 1. *est* ($<$ VL. *est*) $= ę$: cf. 277.

Line 2. *il* ($<$ VL. *elli*—cf. 322) $= i$: cf. 281 and 209.   *doulx* ($<$ VL. *dolces*—281. Note).

Line 3. *ay* ($<$ VL. *ayo) $= ę$: cf. 223.   *faict* ($<$ VL. *factu*) $=$ *fę*: cf. 277 and 223.   *tout* ($<$ VL. *tottu*) $= tų$: cf. 277.

Line 4. *des* (contraction of OF. *de* and *les*)$= dę$: cf. 129 and 211.   *laines* ($<$ VL. *lanas*) $= lęnę$: cf. 129.   *mes* ($<$ VL. *mos*—cf. 327) $= mę$: cf. 129 and 211.

Line 5. *quel* ($<$ VL. *quale*—cf. 335 and the last sentence of 306) $= kę$: cf. 277 and 211.   *mesnagier* (this is the OF. word *mesnage* + the suffix *-ier* $<$ VL. *-ariu*) $= męnažę$: cf. 277 and 243.   *vous* ($<$ VL. *vos*) $= vųz$: cf. 126.